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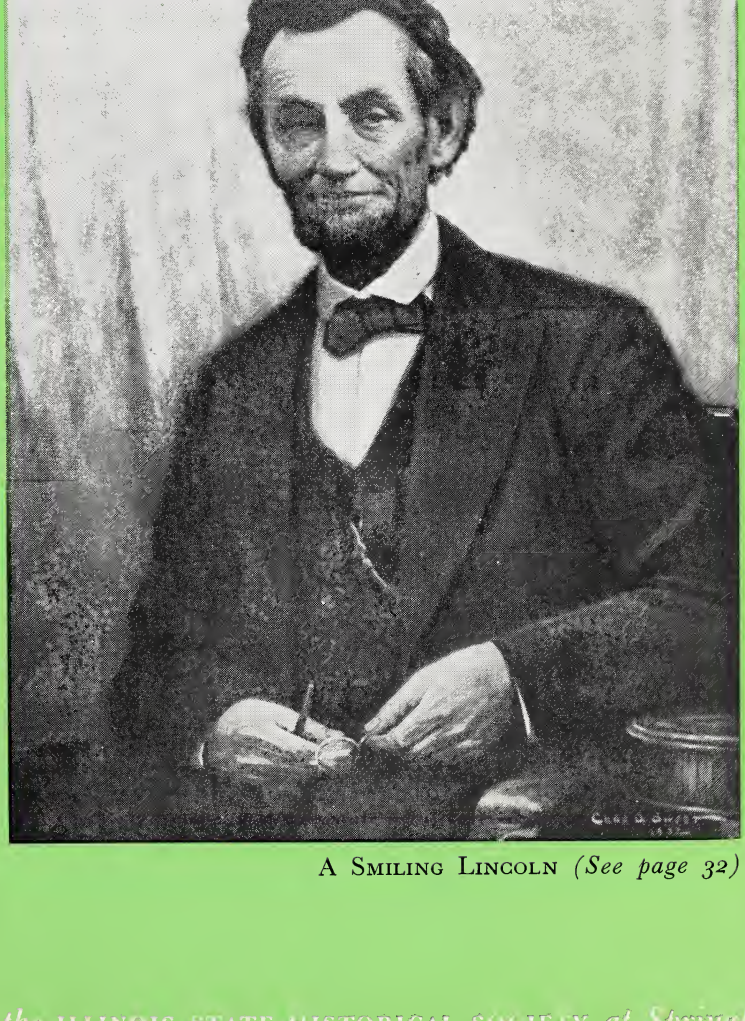

A Smiling Lincoln *(See page 32)*

lished quarterly for the ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY *at Springfield*

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Introduction

THIS SPECIAL, enlarged issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* commemorates the one hundred fiftieth birthday of our greatest Illinoisan, Abraham Lincoln. We are immensely indebted to the fifteen men who discuss in these pages various aspects of the Lincoln story.

Plutarch believed that history could be understood best by studying the lives of great men. While modern historical scholarship emphasizes many other aspects of history, historical biography continues to be a primary study tool. In modern times no person has been studied so consistently and carefully as has Abraham Lincoln.

No one reading these words needs to be reminded that Lincoln was a great man. We all know that this is so. Thousands of students — literally thousands — have pored over the letters, the manuscripts, the court records, the newspapers and the books, and have talked with those who knew Lincoln and with those who knew those who knew Lincoln. Then those students have written for us what they have so arduously learned. Now we know more about his ancestors than Lincoln did himself, more about what his Cabinet members, his generals and his friends thought than Lincoln did. And we know what clothes he wore and what he ate for breakfast and how much money he made. We even know what he did on more than half of the days of his fifty-six years of life. It is quite possible that many people know more about Lincoln's life than they do about their own.

We can study the manuscripts, the court records, the newspapers, and read on and on through the books and pamphlets. We can

assemble a mountain of Lincoln facts, weigh the evidence, reason logically, cogitate carefully. But we cannot just arrange in chronological order the record of his life and state that he was great. We have to answer the question which prompts all this painstaking study: *Why* was this man great?

Perhaps this is something no one can ever know, for history and biography and all our learning are imperfect. Was it an accident of circumstance — a happenstance — were the times right? Or was it something deep in the heart, something in his soul, that made him the Abraham Lincon we admire? What made this man such a towering figure? We still do not know.

And perhaps this is why the careful research continues, why the study of Abraham Lincoln seems likely to go on, and on, and on.

Clyde C. Walton

WILLARD L. KING — ALLAN NEVINS

The Constitution and Declaration Of Independence as Issues In the Lincoln-Douglas Debates

One of the features of the Fifty-ninth Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society in Galesburg was the Joseph Medill Symposium in which the two historians Willard L. King and Allan Nevins discussed the Constitution and Declaration of Independence as issues in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates. Here is the text of their talks in the order of presentation in Beecher Chapel of Knox College on October 4, 1958.

Mr. King

MY ONLY warrant to speak on the centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates is that for several years I have had a hobby of collecting material for a biography of David Davis. He was Lincoln's closest friend and had acted as his manager in Lincoln's prior campaign for the United States Senate in 1854. Four years later, in the Lincoln-Douglas campaign, though Davis occupied no official position, he took an active part, and constantly advised Lincoln on strategy. Later, you will recall, Davis was Lincoln's manager at the Chicago convention that nominated him for President. Lincoln's nomination is usually credited to Davis. Lincoln, as President, put Davis on the Supreme Court, and when Lincoln died, Davis became administrator of his estate.

Through the years, I have several times dipped into the

Lincoln-Douglas Debates and always concluded that they were very much overrated by historians. Both debaters seemed to me entangled in minutiae that made irritating reading. Now, however, that I have, through the Davis papers, a little background, these debates seem to me among the most readable documents in American history. Let me recall to you a little of the background.

In 1854 Douglas, as chairman of the Committee on Territories of the United States Senate, had sponsored the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. It repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had declared that slavery should not exist north of the southern boundary of Missouri. The North rose en masse against Douglas' bill. It kicked over the sacred compact for which the South had been paid a price — the admission of Missouri as a slave state. It let slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, where previously it had been forbidden. Douglas afterward said that he could then have traveled from Boston to Chicago by the light of his burning effigies. When he tried to speak in Chicago in explanation of his bill, a mob howled him down.

The passage of this law brought Lincoln back into politics. He had always hated slavery but had never said much about it because he felt that in time it would disappear. As he read history, Lincoln said, the founders of our country intended to restrict slavery to its existing boundaries in the belief that, thus restricted, and with the African slave trade forbidden, slavery would, in a few years, die out. Lincoln hated slavery not only for its monstrous injustice, but because it was so inconsistent with our assertions about the equality of man in our Declaration of Independence. It enabled the whole civilized world to point its finger at us. But Lincoln manifested his invariable fairness toward the

South. "If slavery did not now exist among them," he said, "they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up." He recognized that the Constitution forbade the North to interfere with slavery in the South and entitled the South to have an adequate Fugitive Slave Law in the North. He had refused in 1854 to join the Abolition Republican Party because it advocated repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law and other radical measures that clashed with his essentially conservative temperament. But now he grimly set his face against the extension of slavery into free territory. In 1854 the various groups opposed to Douglas' Nebraska bill secured a majority in the Illinois legislature, and Lincoln resigned his seat in that body to become the anti-Nebraska candidate for the United States Senate. Failing of election by only two or three votes, he threw his support to Lyman Trumbull to thwart the Douglas Democrats' electing their candidate. Trumbull's election and the defeat of Douglas' state ticket two years later made it very clear to Douglas that he must make an about-face on the extension of slavery. He reversed his field and left his opponents gasping.

The slave party in Kansas had adopted a constitution, called the Lecompton Constitution, which guaranteed property rights in slaves, without submitting that question to the people for adoption. President Buchanan made support of that constitution in Congress a party test. Douglas broke with Buchanan and voted with the Republicans to defeat the Lecompton Constitution. For this, he became the darling of the eastern Republicans, such as Horace Greeley and Truman Smith. They demanded that the Illinois Republicans nominate Douglas for United States Senator on the Republican ticket. His force and skill in debate would

be a great gain to the new party in Congress. But the Illinois Republicans would have no part in such a scheme. "A repentant prostitute may be received into the church," they said, "but she should not lead the choir."

The debates revolved around the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. Lincoln found great support in the Constitution for his belief that its framers intended to put slavery in the course of ultimate extinction. He pointed out that, about the same time that the Constitution was being framed, the Continental Congress, including many men who signed the Constitution, adopted the Ordinance of 1787, which forever prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory. Lincoln took no stock in Douglas' argument that climate effectually excluded slavery from Kansas. "Illinois would have been a slave state," he said, "if slavery had not been forbidden by the Ordinance of 1787."

Lincoln called attention to the fact that the makers of the Constitution so abhorred slavery that they refused even to mention it directly and dealt with it only by euphemism. They used "covert" language, he said, whenever they referred to slavery. Thus, their provision for representation reads: "Representatives . . . shall be apportioned among the several states . . . according to their respective numbers and shall be determined by adding to the number of free persons . . . three-fifths of all other persons." Slaves were "all other persons." What a round-about way to mention slavery, Lincoln commented. Again, even the fugitive slave clause provided: "No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof escaping into another, shall . . . be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." Why did they

not say that runaway slaves should be returned to their masters? "Because," said Lincoln, "they were ashamed of slavery." They knew it was a disgrace. The Constitution was intended to endure forever, and slavery would be gone, they thought, in a few years. The framers did not want anything on the face of the instrument that would tell posterity that there had ever been such a thing as human slavery.

The Constitution had provided, in effect, that the African slave trade should not be forbidden by the federal government for twenty years. One might think that this provision was inconsistent with Lincoln's argument. But not so, he said. So certain was everyone that slavery was on its way out that a constitutional provision was necessary to prevent the people from putting a stop to the slave traffic immediately. And look at the language they used to avoid mentioning slavery even in that clause: "The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to 1808." What evasion! What circumlocution!

Lincoln said that all his life he had been personally opposed to slavery. But he had kept quiet about it because it was not fair to attack it. It was only a question of time until it would end. But by 1858 the succession of current Southern political moves — first in the passage of the Nebraska Act, then in the Lecompton Constitution, and now in the Dred Scott decision — convinced Lincoln that the political leaders of the South planned to make slavery national. The Dred Scott case, which had been decided by the Supreme Court in the prior year, came perilously close, Lincoln thought, to achieving that purpose. A short

step from that decision would be a decision that no state could exclude slavery. Dred Scott, you will recall, was a Missouri slave who had been taken by his master, an officer in the United States Army, to Rock Island in Illinois and Fort Snelling in Minnesota Territory, where he had lived for many years. Since he had lived so long in free territory, where he had been married and had children, he sued for his freedom in the federal courts. Although it was not at all necessary to a decision in the case, the Supreme Court declared that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional because Congress had no power to exclude slavery from the territories. It was Republican policy, Lincoln said, not to accept that decision but to strive to reverse it. In his opening speech in the campaign, Lincoln had expressed his deep fear that the South would make slavery national. "A house divided against itself cannot stand," he said. He did not expect that the house would fall, but he did expect that it would cease to be divided. Either slavery would end, as the founding fathers expected and intended, or its advocates would make it lawful everywhere, North as well as South.

Mr. Nevins

THE JOINT debates of Lincoln and Douglas are one of the most striking instances in our history of an appeal to the voice of democracy. Madison, in an oft-quoted passage of the *Federalist* (Number 10), had drawn a contrast between a pure democracy and a representative republic very unfavorable to the former. The delegation of government in a republic to a small number of citizens elected by the rest was, he thought, better than the rough, crude decisions of a democratic mass. It tended "to refine or enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a

chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interests of their country, and whose patriotism and love of justice will be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary or partial considerations." The result might well "be more consonant to the public good, than if pronounced by the people themselves." But in the joint debates the two leaders appealed as dramatically as possible to the direct judgment of the people.

The election of senators was then, of course, by a representative agency, the legislature, not by the people directly. But Lincoln and Douglas hoped to control the legislative decision by influencing the masses. Douglas was an exponent of what he called popular sovereignty. Lincoln pointed out at Springfield that the legislature was not truly representative; the apportionment of members was outdated and unfair. "Let the voice of the people rule" — both believed in this famous dictum by Douglas. Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy had affected Illinois as deeply as any other part of the Union. And never was an appeal to the whole people better justified by the men who made it, for both succeeded to a creditable degree in avoiding demagogy, claptrap and prejudice. Both, but especially Lincoln, dealt in facts and ideas, and appealed to the sober reason of a thoughtful, well-informed electorate.

Mr. King has lucidly explained the difference of opinion between Lincoln and Douglas on slavery in the territories. At this point, it seems to me, we might well consider the deeper meaning of the national conflict which the two men debated. It was not a mere conflict between slavery and freedom. It was a conflict also, and more vitally, between constitutionalism and nationalism; that is, between the strict letter of the Constitution and the living processes which

knit the American people into a nation. Lincoln was on the side of nationalism as against a deadening, restrictive constitutionalism.

We may briefly consider the facts. Slavery, under the great instrument of 1787, was clearly constitutional. But time had shown that it was also clearly divisive of the nation. In fact, it was divisive in two ways, for it turned North and South against each other, and it made all humanitarian idealists the opponents of all cautious pragmatists. Slavery had rendered the Mason and Dixon Line a far sharper boundary than the Canadian line. At the same time, it placed a deep channel between those who live in the world as it is and those who live for the world as it ought to be. In other words, slavery made it impossible to knit the two great geographical sections into one nation; and it forbade the emergence of a nation based on the unifying concept of human brotherhood and the hope for a steady advancement of *all* men.

How could this dilemma be resolved? The answer of Douglas was simple: By ignoring it. And how could Americans of 1858 ignore it when it stared them directly in the face? His answer was, by leaving 1858 and going back to live in the world of 1787, or 1800, or any time before the Wilmot Proviso. Lincoln, in his passion for national unity, had said that the nation could not long endure half slave and half free. "How can he assert this?" demanded Douglas. "It has always so endured." "Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton . . .," said Douglas at Ottawa, "made this government divided into Free States and Slave States, and left each State perfectly free to do as it pleased on the subject of slavery. Why can it not exist on the same principles on which our fathers made it?" In

short, he was for ignoring the divisive power of the slave question by going back to live in 1787 or the subsequent decades. This was pure constitutionalism, as interpreted by a man who did not care whether slavery was voted up or voted down, and hence could not see how divisive it had become.

To this archaic constitutionalism, Lincoln opposed the idea of nationalism. The country in 1858, as he saw it, had a choice between nationalizing slavery and nationalizing freedom; but it had to nationalize one or the other. It could not retreat into the 1790's. For one reason, it had a problem in the territories which was born of the Mexican War; for another, public sentiment on the slavery question was inexorably growing more feverish. The country could not go back; it had to go forward in one of two directions. It would no longer do to say that a complacent attitude toward slavery was right because slavery was constitutional. The nation was far more important than the Constitution, and slavery was destroying the nation. A new nationalism had to be created — the nationalism of a people practically unanimous in accepting slavery, or practically unanimous in saying slavery must end.

Of course there was only one way out. When people everywhere accepted the belief that slavery was in the path of ultimate extinction, said Lincoln, then a true union of North and South would be possible. Then the country would regain territorial integrity.

But Lincoln, as a farsighted nationalist, was concerned with something more important even than the restoration of territorial unity. His nationalism meant agreement on a new ideal: the ideal of human welfare, of the betterment of mankind, black and white, of the essential fraternity of

all men. In Galesburg, Lincoln said that "a moral question" was involved. The question, as he repeatedly asserted, was whether "the light of reason and the love of liberty" should be promoted or retarded in America. At Quincy he declared that slavery was a moral, a social and a political wrong, and that a self-respecting people must treat it as wrong. He remarked there that it was outrageous to put slavery on a cotton-gin basis; to say that, since the cotton gin had made it profitable, it ought to be perpetual. National unity must be founded on a far firmer, higher rock than that: on the equal right of all men, whatever their color, to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Men must feel a livelier conscience than Douglas felt. They must lift humanity, not just accept it as it was.

Douglas, in his emphasis on constitutionalism, and Lincoln, in his emphasis on nationalism, necessarily had to act through parties. Here they differed sharply. Political parties are the very cement of the nation. Each great political party includes conservatives, moderates and radicals; Protestants, Catholics and Jews; Easterners, Westerners, Northerners and Southerners. Douglas regarded the old Democratic and Whig parties as ideal. They covered the whole map. They tied together every locality, group and interest.

But Lincoln, emphasizing nationalism, made himself leader in a new party which seemed for a time divisive and sectional. This was because he was not a man who blurred over issues; it was because he tried to prod men into facing harsh facts. The American people in 1858, as in 1958, were to a great extent good-natured and lazy-minded, tending to look superficially at issues, and, as Herbert Croly says, to drift. Lincoln's greatness was that he awakened

everyone who listened to him to realities. He always denied that the Republican Party was really divisive. If the South would give it a calm hearing and learn the truth about its doctrines, he said, it would become as national geographically as the Democratic Party. But actually he was trying to create a new national party on a better basis – a broad regard for human welfare. His desire was for a party not merely accepted in all sections, but accepted by all men who were interested in constructive national purposes and humanitarian ideals. The Republican Party in 1858 was spiritually our finest party. In Lincoln's lifetime (the less said about it in some later periods the better) it really tried to unite men in fostering "the light of reason and the love of liberty."[1]

Theodore Roosevelt in his Progressive years preached the New Nationalism. He, too, put nationalism above a narrow constitutionalism. The Constitution, under old interpretations, sanctioned some unhealthy institutions and damaging practices, which were plainly dividing the nation. Class feeling was increasing. Roosevelt, in 1912, declared flatly that excessive emphasis on the Constitution, and inadequate emphasis on national growth and change, meant chaos and disaster. That was just what Lincoln had declared in 1858. Neither one wanted to violate or ignore

1. During the Civil War Lincoln repeatedly expressed his belief that a narrow type of constitutionalism must not interfere with the living processes and necessities of nationalism. For example, defenders of sedition and treason appealed to the strict letter of the Constitution. Lincoln, in his letter to A. G. Hodges, April 4, 1864, declared that a limb must often be amputated to save a life, but a life must never be given to save a limb. "I felt that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful, by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the constitution, through the preservation of the nation." Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), VII: 281.

the Constitution. On the contrary, both wished it to flourish and grow, for they saw that life meant growth. Roosevelt often quoted Lincoln, and Lincoln could have quoted with high approval what Roosevelt said in 1912:

> I believe in the future of the American people because I believe that fundamentally and at heart the average man and the average woman of America are sound; that, however deeply they may at times err, yet they have in them fundamentally, the power of self-mastery, or self-control, the power to live their lives in accordance with a high and fine ideal, to do strict justice to others, and to insist upon their rights only as a vantage point for the better performance of their duties.

To Lincoln the nationalist, this kind of spirit — which was the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, affirming the right of every man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness — meant more than the strict words of the Constitution.

Mr. King

PRINCIPALLY THE great debates revolve around a single sentence in the Declaration of Independence. Four years before, in Lincoln's famous Peoria speech on the Nebraska Act, he had told why he hated slavery. In our Declaration of Independence we had declared that all men are created equal and endowed with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. After such a declaration, Lincoln said slavery enabled "the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites." It deprived our "Republican example of its just influence in the world." It caused the real friends of freedom all over the world to doubt our sincerity.

In Congress, in the debate on the Nebraska bill, Congress-

man Pettit of Indiana had declared that the Declaration of Independence was a "self-evident lie." All men were not created equal. "What a long way we had come in seventy-eight years," Lincoln mused. If Pettit had made that remark "in the old Independence Hall seventy-eight years ago, the very doorkeeper would have throttled the man, and thrust him into the street." "If this had been said to the men who captured André, the man who said it would probably have been hung sooner than André was." What would have become of the man who had made such a remark to Marion's men in Carolina, Southern men though they were?

But Chief Justice Taney in the Dred Scott case had denied that the words "all men are created equal" included Negroes. Douglas now argued that, in a document drafted to justify our separation from Great Britain, the declaration that all men are equal only meant that British subjects on this continent (white men) were equal to those living in Great Britain. If Lincoln believed that all men were created equal, Douglas said, then Lincoln favored creating a mongrel race. He favored making Negroes citizens and letting them intermarry with whites.

"Now I protest against that counterfeit logic," Lincoln responded, "which concludes that because I do not want a black woman for a *slave*, I must necessarily want her for a wife. . . . In some respects she is certainly not my equal. But in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands without asking leave of anyone else, she is my equal and the equal of all others."

The Declaration did not say that all men "were equal in color, size, intellect, moral development or social capacity." It said they were equal in their right to life, liberty and the

pursuit of happiness. The declaration of equality was of no political use in effecting our separation from Great Britain. It was placed in the Declaration as a beacon light – an ideal to be constantly striven for – "promoting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere."

In the debates Lincoln was quick to grasp the political advantage given him by Douglas' argument that the Declaration only meant that Americans were equal to Englishmen. In Lincoln's opening speech in Chicago on July 10, he reminded his audience of the July Fourth celebrations just past. We were a mighty nation, thirty millions strong – happy, prosperous and thriving. Our prosperity, we believed, had come to us through the principles of the founding fathers. But perhaps half of our people were not descendants of those fathers. They were German, Irish, French and Scandinavian. But when they read that Declaration: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," they felt that "they were blood of the blood and flesh of the flesh of the men who wrote that Declaration of Independence." According to Douglas (Lincoln said), "you Germans are not connected with the Declaration of Independence." It did not refer to you when it said all men were equal. Douglas said Negroes were not included in the Declaration. "If one man says it did not mean a Negro, why may not another say it does not mean some other man?" Douglas had argued that many of the founding fathers were slaveowners, and that they did not themselves immediately free their slaves. But slavery was there and they had to accept it. That did not destroy the principle of the Declaration. Lincoln quoted the Bible: "As your Father in heaven is perfect, be ye also perfect." That was a standard to be striven for, though never at-

tained. "So I say in relation to the principle that all men are created equal, let it be as nearly reached as we can. If we cannot give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing that will impose slavery upon any other creature." Douglas in his next speech backed away from his statement that the Declaration only declared equality of Americans and Englishmen. It referred to Europeans, men of white blood, he said. It did not include black men. The high spot in Lincoln's speeches on this subject was his peroration in his Lewistown speech in late August, 1858:

> The representatives in old Independence Hall said to the whole world of men: We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the universe. This was their lofty and wise and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to his creatures. Yes, gentlemen, to *all* his creatures, to the whole great family of man. In their enlightened belief, nothing stamped with the Divine Image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on, and degraded, and imbruted by his fellows. They grasped not only the whole race of men then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the farthest posterity. They erected a beacon to guide their children and their children's children and the countless myriads who would inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when in the distant future some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began — so that truth and justice and mercy and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man would hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principle on which the temple of liberty was being built.

Think nothing of me [Lincoln closed], take no thought for the political fate of any man whomsoever — but come back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence. You may do anything with me you choose, if you will heed these sacred principles. You may not only defeat me for the Senate, but you may take me and put me to death. While pretending no indifference to earthly honors, *I do claim* to be actuated in this contest by something higher than anxiety for office. I charge you to drop every paltry and insignificant thought for any man's success. It is nothing; I am nothing; Judge Douglas is nothing. *But do not destroy that immortal emblem of humanity — the Declaration of American Independence.*

Mr. Nevins

WHEN THOMAS JEFFERSON wrote the Declaration of Independence, he used a number of phrases borrowed from George Mason's Declaration of Rights, adopted a month earlier by the Virginia Convention. George Mason, incidentally, was one of the Revolutionary fathers who hated slavery. Neither Jefferson nor Mason pretended to set forth great original ideas. As they frankly declared, they pieced together a great body of principles and theories current in their day, particularly those of John Locke and the Whig Revolution of 1688 in England. But Jefferson went much further than the English thinkers — Locke, Milton, John Harrington, Algernon Sydney — in his radical democracy.

His belief in democracy was colored by his practical experience of frontier life in Albemarle County, Virginia. He knew that an aristocratic system of government and society might work well in the wealthy countries of Europe, or the affluent cities of the Atlantic Seaboard in America. But he knew that it would not work in the wide lands beyond the Alleghenies and the Blue Ridge; lands where a frontier

population, tough and individualistic, insisted on absolute social and political equality. Jefferson's belief in democracy was also colored by the Eighteenth Century Enlightenment — that is, the rejection of superstition and empty tradition — and by the humanitarian thought of the era.

Anyone who studies the joint debates of 1858, and the other utterances of the contestants, will see that Lincoln was far more of a Jeffersonian than Douglas was. In the first place, he was more of a democrat (with a small "d"); he had a deeper faith in the common people. In the second place, he had more of the spirit of the Enlightenment; he was less conservative, and freer from old dogmas and traditions. Finally, he was far more of a humanitarian, and his thinking has a much stronger ethical tinge.

Both Douglas and Lincoln, but especially Lincoln, had an ampler experience of the frontier than Jefferson had, and hence a keen instinct for equality. Both, but especially Lincoln, rose from humble beginnings by hard struggle, and believed in keeping the road to advancement open to all. Both were champions of the common man — but with a vital difference. Douglas' regard for the people stopped with the political and economic rights of the white man; Lincoln had a regard for the whole human race, made warm and vital by humanitarian passion. Here in Galesburg, Douglas spoke of Negro slaves as property, on an equal footing with other forms of property, and defended his Kansas-Nebraska Act with an illustration which placed the Negro taken to Kansas in the same category as a cargo of liquor taken to Kansas. Such an attitude horrified Lincoln. The contention of Douglas that Negroes were not included in the Declaration of Independence likewise horrified him. In his Galesburg speech Lincoln quoted Jef-

ferson's remark on the maltreatment of the Negro race, that "I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just." He taunted Douglas with the fact that during his whole life Douglas had never uttered a sentiment akin to this of Jefferson's. In the ethical and humanitarian approach to the slavery issue, Douglas felt absolutely no interest, while Lincoln's interest was overwhelming. The Emancipation Proclamation and the Declaration of Independence were cut from the same bolt of cloth.

If any fact is clear respecting the principles of the Declaration of Independence, it is their universality. Jefferson wrote that all men have a natural right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; not some men, but *all* men. George Mason, in his Declaration of Rights the previous month, had put the doctrine in the same universal terms. His first article ran: "That *all* men are by nature free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, . . . namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of . . . pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety." Douglas denied this universality; Lincoln affirmed it. Many Negroes fought for national freedom in the Revolution, and the authors of the Declaration, as Lincoln said, hoped that in time all of them would enjoy personal freedom.

If any other fact is clear respecting the principles of the Declaration, it is their breadth. Life and liberty may be regarded as minimum rights. When we say with Jefferson that government exists to secure them, we assign it rather negative functions. It safeguards men from attacks on their persons; it protects them from encroachments. But the pursuit of happiness embraces every desirable end of society. When we say that government must promote this pursuit, we assign it a positive task, for we mean that it

must take active, constructive steps to help citizens attain legitimate aims for well-being. The Declaration asserted that people of every origin, every creed, every race, should have their equal share in the pursuit of well-being.

A hundred years ago Lincoln measured slavery by the Declaration of Independence, and found the two quite incompatible. To give all Americans, of all colors, an equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, he asked the South to face a fact which most Southerners regarded with horror: the fact that slavery would soon have to be abolished. It would have to be put in the path of ultimate extinction, and "ultimate" probably meant 1880, 1890 or at latest 1900. In a broad sense, it meant what is conveyed by the old English common law phrase, "with all deliberate speed." He asked Americans to face this hard fact and plan for it, making arrangements for gradual emancipation. When he said that the nation must reach a crisis and pass it, he meant that it must face up to the necessity for eliminating slavery, accept it and begin constructive work on the method. Unhappily, the American people were not equal to the test. The South faced the grim reality, rejected it and, in an effort to move backward rather than forward, tried to destroy the Union.

Now, a century later, we have to measure the state of our race relations by the Declaration; and once more any honest judge must find the two incompatible. The nation as a whole, North as well as South, is far from conforming to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. If we maintain the Jeffersonian ideal, we must give the Negro citizen, and citizens of Puerto Rican, Chinese, Mexican and Japanese origin, equal employment rights, which, as yet, are safeguarded in only a handful of states — Illinois is not one. We

must give them equal rights in the use of public transportation, public parks, public swimming pools and public playgrounds. We must allow them an unquestioned right to patronize hotels, restaurants and theaters alongside families of the oldest stock and bluest blood. The Fourteenth Amendment, putting into fundamental law the equality phrase of the Declaration, will soon be a century old. The great test under it just now is the right of the Negro child to equal use of the schools. But we shall not satisfy the spirit of Mason, Jefferson and Lincoln until our American system allows people of every origin, color and belief unhesitant equality in the use of *every* facility for the pursuit of happiness; that is, for promotion of their physical, intellectual and spiritual well-being.

The great obstacle to acceptance of this principle is clear, though it is seldom frankly stated. It is the fear, not confined to any section or any one race, that absolute equality will lead to an intermingling of blood. Lincoln, in his Galesburg speech, had to defend himself from the absurd charge that "if we do not confess that there is a sort of inequality between the white and black races, which justifies us in making them slaves, we must, then, insist that there is a degree of equality that requires us to make them our wives."[2] As he said, that did not follow at all; we could just leave them alone. Today we can paraphrase Lincoln; each race can treat the other as absolute equals, and still in the matter of marriage leave the other alone. Neither slavery nor a mutually degrading inequality is needed to separate them.

2. Paul M. Angle, ed., *Created Equal? The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* Springfield, 1958), 299. This admirable edition deserves a place on the shelves of every person interested in Lincoln or in American political history.

As a matter of fact, under slavery miscegenation was an uglier fact, and the mingling of blood a more frequent occurrence, than under freedom; and today inequality does more to promote such a mingling than equality.

The dignity of all our people irrespective of hue means a proud sense of independence in each separate stock. We would be less than honest if we did not admit that in the course of centuries, by a long secular process, our heterogeneous peoples will fuse. No historian, no sociologist, no ethnologist, will question the statement that in our mighty American river of many nationalities and origins, two currents cannot flow side by side down the ages without ultimately becoming one. But that process may be left to the course of time. If the South will look at the facts in those communities which have gone furthest to guarantee equality, it will see that its fears are exaggerated. One segment of a community cannot hold another segment in an inferior position without finding itself retarded and coarsened; that is the historic revenge of the helot race. And the nation as a whole cannot let the principles of the Declaration be ignored without losing its brightest faith and its best guarantee of unity and progress.

We have *our* crisis to reach and pass. Today, even more than in 1861, we have to deal with it in the face of the whole world. All Asia and Africa — not to mention Latin America and Europe — look on to see whether we have a decent regard for the opinion of mankind; whether we retain the feeling Lincoln expressed in the Gettysburg Address, that American freedom and justice are a beacon light to the world. We can address those who use violence and hatred to dam back the deliberate progress of equality in Lincoln's own words.

I do not argue [he told border state slaveholders in 1862 in urging them to accept gradual compensated emancipation]. I beseech you to make the arguments for yourselves. You can not if you would be blind to the signs of the times. I beg of you a calm and enlarged consideration of them, ranging, it may be, far above personal and partisan politics. . . . The change it contemplates would come gently as the dews of heaven, not rending or wrecking anything. . . . So much good has not been done, by one effort, in all past time, as in the providence of God, it is now your high privilege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it.

Mr. King

DOUGLAS ANSWERED at Ottawa:

Mr. Lincoln . . . reads from the Declaration of Independence that all men were created equal and then asks, how can you deprive a Negro of that equality? . . . but for my own part, I do not regard the Negro as my equal, and positively deny that he is my brother or any kin to me whatever. . . . Now, I do not believe that the Almighty ever intended the Negro to be the equal of the white man. If he did, he has been a long time demonstrating the fact. For thousands of years, the Negro has been a race upon the earth, and during all that time, in all latitudes and climates, wherever he has wandered or been taken, he has been inferior to the race which he has there met.

Lincoln answered:

I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races . . . but I hold . . . there is no reason in the world why the Negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

About this time, Judge David Davis wrote Lincoln that he must make it clearer that he was not in favor of Negro citizenship or making voters or jurors of the Negroes or permitting them to intermarry with whites. In the Charleston debate in September, Lincoln was emphatic upon these

points. Douglas then again accused him of inconsistency in his prior arguments from the Declaration of Independence.

In the Galesburg debate, Douglas repeated that charge. Jefferson, who wrote that Declaration, was a slaveowner, Douglas reminded them. "Did he intend to say in that Declaration that his Negro slaves which he held and treated as property, were created his equal by Divine law, and that he was violating the law of God every day of his life by holding them as slaves? . . . when you say that the Declaration of Independence includes the Negro, you charge the signers of it with hypocrisy."

Lincoln answered that while Mr. Jefferson was the owner of slaves, in speaking upon this very subject, he used the strong language that "he trembled for his country when he remembered that God was just." "I will offer the highest premium in my power to Judge Douglas," Lincoln concluded, "if he will show that he, in all his life, ever uttered a sentiment at all akin to that of Jefferson."

Of course, we now know that Jefferson meant exactly what he said when he declared that all men are created equal. And he certainly intended to include Negroes. The original draft of the Declaration as prepared by him contained what John Adams called a philippic against Negro slavery. In burning words, Jefferson accused George III of vetoing colonial laws to suppress the piratical slave traffic which Jefferson called a "cruel war against human nature . . . violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty." What would Lincoln not have given for a copy of that first draft!

As you all know, Lincoln suffered a great disappointment in his campaign with Douglas. Although Lincoln's party

had more votes than Douglas' and elected its state ticket, Douglas carried the legislature and by a few votes won the senatorship. A few days after the election, the *Chicago Tribune,* which had been the principal newspaper supporting Lincoln, published an editorial:

> Mr. Lincoln is beaten. . . . We know of no better time than the present to congratulate him on the memorable and brilliant canvass that he has made. . . . He has created for himself a national reputation that is both envied and deserved. . . . The Republicans owe him much for his truthfulness, his courage, his self-command, and his consistency; but the weight of their debt is chiefly in this: that, under no temptation, no apprehension of defeat, in compliance with no solicitation, has he let down our standard in the least. That God-given and glorious principle which is the head and front of Republicanism, "All men are created equal and are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," he has steadily upheld, defended, illustrated and applied in every speech which he has made.

Five years later Lincoln spoke the final words in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where a battle had been fought that settled what the Declaration of Independence meant: "Our forefathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and *dedicated* to the proposition that *all* men are created equal."

What Lincoln would think of Little Rock is a question of the day. In the great debates he declared his opposition to making citizens of Negroes, allowing them to vote or serve as jurors and the like. Up to the time of his death he was opposed to giving Negroes the vote, except possibly to the small minority who could read and write and who had served in the army during the war. One might argue from these expressions that he would have been opposed to such a great disturbance of the educational system in the Deep South as desegregation entails. Certainly, as always, he

would have sympathized with the Southern people. Had he lived, the insane radical reconstruction whereby the Southern whites were placed under the political domination of the blacks would not have occurred. Let us never forget that segregation in the public schools of the South was in large part a product of those reconstruction years. Before reconstruction the South had little or no hatred or abhorrence of the Negro. White children were nursed by Negro mammies, and white and colored children were playmates. Remember Nigger Jim in Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer*? The public school system of the South was largely built after the Civil War. Segregation in it is in part a result of what our politicians up North did to the prostrate South.

But no one can doubt, I believe, what Lincoln's attitude would be today on this subject. He forever established that this country was dedicated to the proposition that all men are equal before the law. After the war, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution made Lincoln's principle explicit. It prohibited any state from denying any person the equal protection of the law. That clause forbids segregated schools, our Supreme Court says. With Lincoln's magnanimity, he might have gone along for a time with the proposition that colored schools might be separate *if* equal. But time would have demonstrated to him the unfairness of that system and its lack of realism in equality. No one can seriously argue that a colored child gets an equal opportunity for an education in a segregated school. The very act of segregation precludes equality. Lincoln would have been much moved by the fact that our enemies abroad point to segregated schools and taunt us with hypocrisy about our vaunted attachment to the equality of man. In this

country the philosophy of Communism, with its vicious scorn of equality, makes headway among minorities who are discriminated against. Lincoln said that the declaration that all men are created equal was an ideal, an aspiration, a beacon light that would guide all future generations. Who can doubt that he would have agreed with the Supreme Court and with President Eisenhower's action at Little Rock!

The Portrait on the Front Cover of This Journal

On the front cover of this Lincoln Sesquicentennial Issue of the *Journal* is a reproduction of a painting of Lincoln by Charles A. Sweet which hangs above the fireplace in the Horner-Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library. This three-by-four-foot portrait is dated 1932. It is the artist's interpretation of one of several photographs taken in Washington by Alexander Gardner on Monday, April 10, 1865, just four days before Lincoln's assassination. The painting was exhibited at the Chicago World's Fair in 1933-1934 and on other occasions before it was presented to the Library in 1954. The inscription on the identifying plate reads: "Presented in memory of Charles A. Sweet the artist, his wife Lulu M., and their daughter Maxine S. Williams by Alfred B. Williams, Chicago, Illinois." (Photo by Ward Johnson, Illinois state photographer.)

ROY P. BASLER

Lincoln in Literature

Before going to the Library of Congress, where he is now Director of the Reference Department, Roy P. Basler was editor of the nine-volume Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln *for the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield.*

THE RIVER of Lincoln literature flows undiminished. From 1860, the year of Lincoln's nomination for his first term as President, to the present, there have been few low-water marks, but numerous flood stages, testifying to the emotional, sometimes idolatrous, hero worship of writer and reading public. One must wonder at the personality of the man which is the source of so much narrative, speculation and interpretation, as well as at the symbolic significance which the Lincoln story has attained as a kind of national epic.

It is difficult now to comprehend the wave of hero worship which swept over the country after Lincoln's assassination. In reality the tide had already set in before, and his death was but an opening of the floodgates of emotion. The state of the public mind was then, as it has always been, somewhat delirious after a period of war and national stress. Human society must have, it seems, periods of emotional unbalance even during quiet times. So at a period when the nation's emotions were all but out of control, when half a million soldiers were dead in their uniforms and thirty million people were so spent with grief that no man could be

quite sane any more, it is not surprising that the entire populace reverted in its mental processes to something common to the childhood of a race — the creation of a hero-myth. Drunk with success, the North was ready to apotheosize the leader who had preserved the Union and abolished slavery.

As Lloyd Lewis delineated in his remarkable book *Myths After Lincoln* (1929), Lincoln was suddenly lifted into the sky as the folk hero, the deliverer and the martyr who had come to save his people and to die for them. Day by day the impression grew that Lincoln had been the chosen one of God. Those who had known him told everything they had known which was in keeping with the memory of a martyr.

The first biographies of Lincoln, published shortly after his nomination in 1860, were very brief and generally of little permanent significance. The first widely read biography, William M. Thayer's *The Pioneer Boy,* was ninety per cent fiction and extremely laudatory. The first realistic life, a biography (1872) credited to Lincoln's friend Ward H. Lamon, met with such disfavor that only the first volume was published, and the effort of Lincoln's law partner William H. Herndon to record the "real" Lincoln he had known resulted in one of the most controversial books ever published in the United States, *Herndon's Lincoln* (1889).

In spite of the good intentions of many biographers, the early life of Lincoln never received an adequate and understanding treatment until more than fifty years after his death — and then by the poet Carl Sandburg. Sandburg realized what others had failed to grasp — that knowledge of the early life of Lincoln is based so largely on the popular opinion, anecdote and detail of those who knew him, that if any of these should be credited, all or nearly all of them should

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be woven into a panoramic tapestry of frontier life. Sandburg's biography gave for the first time the story of Lincoln's rise from poverty and obscurity in a manner that comprehended the true epic significance of the subject matter. There have been other biographers and poets who saw, or thought they saw, epic material in the early life of Lincoln. They have failed to grasp or present it, chiefly because they have attempted to make it epical in some classic fashion. Other biographers had seen little except the commonplace and morbid or had sought only for those elements which foreshadowed the statesman, and thus presented either a bald or a gilded account, both incorrect.

Biographers have generally failed to formulate an acceptable conception which embodies both the private and the public Lincoln. Agreement is far more commonly found in the assessments of the public Lincoln. In considering Lincoln's purposes and actions, there are two points of view, however, from which one cannot see the same result: namely, that of the sovereign and sacred individuality of the State, which Lincoln supposedly destroyed, and the sovereignty of the Federal Government, which he preserved. There are still some who maintain Lincoln's entire political philosophy was wrong. The answer to their argument is, of course, the more generally held contrary opinion.

All criticism of the public Lincoln turns eventually on one question: Was he a mere opportunist? There was certainly a timeliness about all of his important moves. But most of his later critics conclude that Lincoln cannot intelligently be explained as an opportunist, that behind all his gentleness, his slowness, behind his melancholy as well as his humor, there appears a tremendous ambition and an inflexible purpose.

Lincoln's popular reputation and conception have been largely established in other forms of literature than biography and history. A mass of popular narrative has grown up about him in the form of stories supposedly told by Lincoln and anecdotes about him. Poets in every section of the country, even in the South, eulogized the martyr following his death; probably no European except Napoleon, and of course the great legendary figures like King Arthur, has had more good poems, or more bad ones, written about him. The great Lincoln poems are still those written by his contemporaries, Whitman's "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" and Lowell's "Commemoration Ode," but in later years a number of poets have written some of their best about him – notably Edwin Arlington Robinson's "The Master," Edwin Markham's "Lincoln, the Man of the People," John Gould Fletcher's "Lincoln" and Carl Sandburg's "The Long Shadow of Lincoln." Novelists were somewhat slower to find Lincoln than the poets, and he is a central character in no great novel, though a biographical novel such as Irving Stone's *Love Is Eternal* (1954) achieves more than most good novels of any genre. Few Lincoln dramas have value either as stage plays or as literature, but John Drinkwater's *Abraham Lincoln: A Play* (1919) and Robert Sherwood's *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* (1939) are exceptionally fine plays, the latter in spite of its incorrect emphasis on Lincoln's lack of ambition and the role of Mary Lincoln as the gadfly stinging him to action.

To his contemporaries it seemed indeed a far cry from the prairie Lincoln, born in a backwoods log cabin, to the President Lincoln who was eulogized in 1865 as his country's martyr. Even some of his friends thought the ugly Illinois lawyer of very mediocre caliber when he was nominated

in 1860, but most of them came to praise him five years later as the representative and greatest American. Enemies claimed his authorship for any dirty tale that came along, whispered his illegitimacy and immorality, and hinted that his wife was a Southern spy. After he had assumed the office of President, he was criticized, with some justice, as well as with considerable lack of appreciation for his predicament, for assuming authority arbitrarily and suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*. His early caution with regard to the institution of slavery called down fire from the abolitionists; one of the most acrid, Wendell Phillips, referred to Lincoln as "a first-rate second-rate man." Two classes of men were never able to comprehend Lincoln: those who judged entirely by conventional standards of breeding or by superficial sophistication, and those who were poisoned by political hatred or blinded by egotism and worship of their own opinions. An absence of bias and a careful reading of his speeches, however, enabled Lincoln's great literary contemporaries Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Russell Lowell, Charles Eliot Norton, John Lothrop Motley and others to divine the remarkable genius of Lincoln even before most of his close political associates and friends. The conception of Lincoln as a man of very ordinary talents who became, in five years of stress, educated to a point of intellectual greatness cannot hold. It was inevitable that Lincoln should grow and change, but the essential elements of greatness which were generally recognized after his death and canonization were, as evidenced in his speeches and writing, certainly present in Lincoln prior to 1860.

It is largely of two species of material, pure fiction and folklore, that the first accounts of the early life of Lincoln were composed. The cycle of stories which revolve about

his father and mother, Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, passes through many strange and sometimes contradictory phases. Nancy Hanks and the boy Lincoln have become pure legend. There was no agreement on the physical appearance of Lincoln's mother, even among those who claimed to have known her. Lincoln's purported statement, "All that I am, or hope to be, I owe to my angel mother," has furnished the keynote of the Nancy Hanks legend perpetuated in poetry and works of fiction. His father lived too long to have a sentimental legend, and it was well known that his son demonstrated little personal affection or respect for him. He was apparently just such a man as were the majority of his neighbors, without great ambition, but with a reputation for strength of moral character.

The life of the young Lincoln as it was remembered in after years was inevitably remembered in the spiritual presence of the savior of the nation, martyr and saint. Most of the episodes picturing "Abe" as a model boy, although not inconsistent with the adequately documented facts, are still without justification. The honesty of "Honest Abe" had been a byword locally in Illinois for years, but the countless anecdotes of his honesty did not flourish until the campaign of 1860. One of the best-known anecdotes, which tells how he closed up his shop and walked several miles to return an overcharge of a few cents, has not even the usual authority of some old friend. Another cycle of stories concerns the gentleness and sympathy of "Father Abraham," the friend of the bereaved and distracted. There are many authentic episodes in this cycle, but the fact that writers of fiction have not been content to stick to the authentic episodes, and the fact that they have tended to ignore equally authentic episodes in which Lincoln refused his aid or

clemency, indicate the sentimental exaggeration in this type of fiction.

It would be foolish to assert that Abraham Lincoln was elected because of the popular heroic figure that he came to be within a few days of his nomination, but the importance of the heroic legend which made him forever the symbol of democracy cannot be overestimated. Lincoln inherited to some extent the heroic role established by other frontier Presidents, such as Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison. His physical prowess as a young man, wrestler, weight lifter, and rail splitter, were part of this frontier legend, and two rails he had split in his youth were brought to the convention at which he was nominated for President. After Lincoln had become universally known as the Emancipator, it was natural that antislavery anecdotes should also be interpolated somewhere in the story of his early life. One such tells of the frontier boy who saw a slave market in New Orleans, where he had gone on a flatboat to sell Illinois produce; he is supposed to have said, "If I ever get a chance to hit that thing [slavery] I'll hit it hard." The true wilderness hero, the wrestling, yarn-spinning youth who enjoyed tales of broad humor, remained somewhat a local legend for many years after the Civil War, while the more sentimental picture of his youth was spread throughout the United States. In the last fifty years, however, perhaps because of the vogue of realism in fiction in general, the portrait of the rough frontier Lincoln in works of fiction has tended to replace the earlier sentimental picture.

The historical basis for the element of romantic love in the Lincoln legend is almost nonexistent, but in the Ann Rutledge romance there is sufficient concentration of fiction to make up for the lack of facts. It was inevitable that this

romantic story should arise, perhaps because, if for no other reason, of the apparent lack of the very article in Lincoln himself. The warm and fruitful domestic relationship between Lincoln and his wife, Mary Todd, was well known to be on occasions unbearably cross and common. Thus, what was in reality, if in fact at all, an inconsequential early romance between Lincoln and a young woman who died of chills and fever was blown into an episode depicting Ann as Lincoln's only true love, whose death left him forever shrouded in melancholy. All indications are that, although dismissed from serious biography, this legend will never disappear from popular works.

On the Good Friday night that John Wilkes Booth crept into the President's box at Ford's Theatre and murdered President Lincoln, he accomplished what he thought was a just revenge upon the man who had become, to his unbalanced mind, a monster responsible for all the evil and disgrace which had befallen and would befall the beloved South. But he accomplished far more; he gave the world a martyr and saint where it had once had a man. The rail splitter, the flatboatman, the teller of smutty jokes was forgotten. The popular religious interpretation was that Lincoln's death was to atone, even as Christ's, for the sin of a nation. Although it is known that Lincoln was never a member of any church, there is throughout his works much general evidence of his faith in God, and even of his definite conviction that he was a direct agent of the Lord. To this extent Lincoln is certainly not miscast in the legend of prophet, saint and martyr, but the extent to which the legend goes to exaggerate the element of the supernatural is ridiculous. Lincoln had forecast in early speeches such reforms as prohibition, women's rights, and the end of slav-

ery, but so had numerous other speechmakers whose names are now forgotten. It is true that Lincoln had three dreams or visions foreshadowing his death, not an uncommon psychological phenomenon, but especially apropos in a legend. However one interprets these "mystical" data which are made much of in the legend, it is altogether fitting that the National Lincoln Memorial should be in the form of a temple to a prophet, savior and martyr, and that the sculptured figure enshrined there should represent a mystical, brooding demigod, for Lincoln was indeed something of a mystic as well as a very practical man. If all the conspiracy of circumstances and events which cast him at once into the sky should be set aside, and the political interpreters of Lincoln should be found false, still, the words of his Second Inaugural Address inscribed on the memorial walls would be a kind of poetic prophecy and its author somewhat allied with God.

Lincoln's two achievements most often extolled in verse as well as prose within a few months after his assassination were the Emancipation Proclamation and the preservation of the Union. The first of these is still an enduring symbol, a climax episode in the legend of the prophet and martyr. In the United States praise of the emancipator has popularly equaled that of the savior of the Union. Abroad, the emancipator overshadows all conceptions of Lincoln save one, as a symbol representative of individualism and personal democracy.

Although Lincoln was convinced throughout his early life that slavery was morally wrong, he did not feel any of the zeal for its abolition which was inspiring young men in New England. By 1855 he had grown to hate the institution. He repeatedly attempted, unsuccessfully, to influence

legislation in behalf of gradual emancipation and compensation for the slaveholders. In connection with these plans, Lincoln proposed colonization for the freed Negroes in other countries. Many contemporaries criticized the Emancipation Proclamation because it was limited to the states in rebellion and had no effect in the loyal slave states. It could have no effect in the rebellious states until the Union armies were victorious, which seemed a far cry in September, 1862, when the Proclamation was first issued. For this reason some said specifically that it was a piece of chicane; yet this act was to become "the central act of Lincoln's administration," in spite of the fact that the Emancipation Proclamation — and, indeed, all that he did for the freedom of the slaves — was done, as he said, not for them, but for the preservation of the Union. Alexander Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, said that the Union with Lincoln rose in sentiment "to the sublimity of a religious mysticism." Perhaps it did, but one thing Lincoln was practical rather than mystical about: If the Union were destroyed neither he nor anybody else could abolish slavery in the foreseeable future.

Lincoln's popular fame was increased in the first instance by a considerable amount of campaign literature which held him up as the veritable democrat and representative American. Lincoln literature has enshrined this symbolism and developed the theme of Lincoln's new and American type of genius, an epitome of the people and a genuine folk hero. But above all, there is the undeniable genius of Lincoln, incontrovertibly evidenced in his writings and his deeds, which must be enshrined as somehow, mystically and uniquely, American.

History and literature are more nearly agreed in the

evaluation and interpretation of Lincoln than might be supposed. The bases for estimates of Lincoln are often at variance, but the estimates themselves are in most respects the same in their general terms. Students of Lincoln generally agree that he was the great man of his age. In spite of Carl Sandburg's monumental *Abraham Lincoln, the Prairie Years* (1926) and *Abraham Lincoln, the War Years* (1939), James G. Randall's scholarly multivolume *Lincoln the President* (1945-1955) and Benjamin P. Thomas' excellent one-volume *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), there is as yet no version of Lincoln biography which can be accepted as a final picture of both the private and the public Lincoln; but the Lincoln who lives in the mind of the average American is not greatly dependent upon the interpretation of the biographers, for he has become a symbol and a myth even larger than his reality in life. The remarkable thing about the mythos is that Lincoln was a worthy man to be made into a symbol of justice, mercy, spiritual and intellectual strength, or a symbol of democracy and freedom. The legend-making propensities of the people of the United States have clothed him in truths that the mere facts of his life could never otherwise have attained. To paraphrase Shelley's differentiation between poetry and history, there is this difference between a history and a legend, that a history is a catalog of detached facts, which have no other connection than time, place, circumstance, and cause and effect; a legend is the creation of actions according to the unchangeable forms of human nature, as existing in the mind of the Creator, which is itself the image of all other minds.

So in the legend of Abraham Lincoln, these very workings of the poetic mind, whether of the folk or of the cre-

ative writer, have made – within a period of recorded history, printing presses and modern methods of research – a myth which symbolizes the quest of a people for their national identity, for liberty under law and for a mystical equality of all men in spite of differences. It is impossible to conceive of a time when such a legend will lose its universal appeal. As long as men aspire, the Lincoln story will be a source of encouragement and hope.

DAVID C. MEARNS

Exquisite Collector, or The Scalping of Abraham Lincoln

A specialist in Lincoln studies, David C. Mearns is chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. He is the author of a dozen or more books, including Lincoln Collections in the Library of Congress, The Lincoln Papers *and* Lincoln and the Image of America.

THE IMPECCABLE John Hay was a discriminating, fastidious and sensitive collector of Lincolniana, an avocation which he did not abandon even after history, in the generous form of William McKinley, had imposed upon his suavity the duties of foreign minister. To what extent he was permitted to indulge his passion in those later days is unknown, at least to me, but it *is* clear from his papers that panderers and fellow-members of the guild were privy to it.

Thus, for example, the irrepressible James Grant Wilson wrote to him on November 6, 1902, inquiring:

> Do you know of anyone having some of Lincoln's hair? His son wrote me last week, that he knew of none. I have small locks of Washington's and Grant's and desired some of Lincoln's, with a view to combining them in a memorial ring to be deposited hereafter in our museum.

No doubt the idea appealed to Secretary Hay, who must have blushed in confessing that he had none of the cranial sprouts of his former master. Perhaps he remembered the

solid gold ring, fashioned by a Scottish jeweler, its intaglio of white stone incised to represent the bust of General Washington, and opening on a hinge where, under glass, was a rosewood fragment, carved in the shape of a coffin, which had come from the casket in which, for some years, the General's remains had rested. Imbedded on the splinter were thirteen tiny gold stars. A Mr. Currie had presented this morbid curiosity to President Lincoln, who was reported to have said, "I have never worn a ring before but I shall wear this." Certainly the idea did not abash John Hay. For as early as February 19, 1893, he had written to Dr. Charles Sabin Taft:

> In the current number of the *Century* you speak of having a lock of hair from the head of President Lincoln. If you would care to trade it, I will give you in exchange some hair from the head of Washington, with a very brief and perfect pedigree. They were given by Washington to Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, and her son gave them to me. I make this offer, as I suppose that nothing less precious would tempt you. If you would prefer any other consideration, I will give you *anything* in my *power*.

Presumably the good doctor declined, for twelve years later, on February 9, 1905, his son, Charles C. Taft, manager of the clothing department in New York's Whitehouse, addressed the "Hon. John Hayes," from the Arlington Hotel:

> I have just arrived in washington this morning from New York where my family have been residing since 1876.
>
> My Mother Mrs. Dr. Charles Sabin Taft died on the 3d of the present month. In looking over her papers I came across a letter from you . . . asking my Father Dr. Charles Sabin Taft for a lock of Ex President Lincon's hair, and that you were anxious to purchase it. I have the hair in my possession now and a cuff button taken from Lincons shirt by my Father Asst Surgen C. S. Taft at

Fords Theatre in the box where he was assaninated [*sic*] on April 14" 1865.

My Father and Mother while living would never part with the relics of Lincon, but as I have been put to considerable expense by the illness and death of my Mother and having a large family of my own, I am compeled to part with them.

I have a certificate written in my Father's handwriting certifying to the button his papers and proff that I am his son. I also enclose a copy of your letter of which I have the orriginal.

By kindly granting me an interview I can satisfy you in regard to the truth of my statements.

The Secretary of State, who for reasons which will appear was in a hurry, granted an audience to the stricken haberdasher and closed the deal. On February 27, 1905, Charles C. Taft wrote again to Mr. Hay:

According to promise, I herewith send you a copy of my father's notes written at the time of President Abraham Lincoln's assassination at Ford's Opera House. My father, Dr. Charles Sabin Taft, at the time, was Assistant Surgeon, U.S.A., as you are aware. In reading the above mentioned notes, you will find a true and detailed history of how the lock of hair from the head of President Lincoln, of which I sold some to you, and the cuff button President Lincoln wore at the time of his assassination, came into my father's possession. You mentioned a Mr. Latimer [Lambert] of Philadelphia, who, you thought, would be interested or who would buy the cuff button or hair. I tried to find Mr. Latimer in Philadelphia but could not locate him. You also mentioned some gentleman residing in Chicago [Gunther?] who is interested in collecting historical relics. If not asking too much would you kindly give me the names and addresses of any gentlemen whom you may know that would be interested.

How many strands of Lincoln's hair Charles C. Taft inherited from his father is a subject for idle speculation but it must have been quite a swatch. But what are we to think of the provenance of the tress which James Grant Wilson treasured? It will be remembered that, in 1902,

General Wilson was in hot pursuit of hirsute Lincolniana in order to complete a "combined" ring. However, in an article devoted to his "Recollections of Lincoln," published in *Putnam's Magazine* for February, 1909, General Wilson wrote:

> En passant, the writer may perhaps be permitted to mention that he is the fortunate possessor of a precious memorial of the martyr-President and five other great heirs of fame, in a ring which contains the hair of Washington, Hamilton, Napoleon, Wellington, Lincoln and Grant. The first was received from Washington's adopted son, G. W. P. Custis of Arlington, Virginia; the second from Hamilton's widow, when she was ninety-six and he [Wilson?] sixteen; the third from Captain Frederick Lahrbush of the Sixtieth Rifles, who guarded Napoleon at St. Helena, after being at Waterloo; Wellington's hair from his eldest son, the Second Duke; and Grant's and Lincoln's from the Presidents themselves. When the author . . . asked Mr. Lincoln, on his last birthday, for a lock of his hair to add to Washington's and Hamilton's, he said, "Help yourself, Colonel."

Perhaps Mr. Lincoln *had* said something to this effect. General Wilson, at the time, kept a diary and his account of the episode should be reasonably accurate. But it is doubtful (it seems to me) that General Wilson actually acted on the suggestion and proceeded therewith to snip. If he did, he must have lost or misplaced the follicular foliage before he appealed to John Hay thirty-seven years later. It is barely conceivable that General Wilson did not attain the wisps until he acted as intermediary in another transaction.

In 1912, the Lincoln Fellowship of New York published General Wilson's obituary of William Harrison Lambert. In that glowing tribute to a devout collector, General Wilson wrote:

> During the last two decades preceding his death on Saturday

morning, June 1, 1912, I occasionally had an opportunity of adding some acceptable Lincoln items to his large collection, but the greatest service of this character in his judgment [*i.e.,* in the judgment of Major Lambert] was acquiring for him, at a cost of six hundred dollars, the large blood-stained lock of hair cut from the President's head when the surgeon was examining the wound made by the assassin's bullet. It was given to Dr. Taft, an army surgeon, among the first to reach the victim, and who was assisting the chief surgeon in charge. Taft's son offered the precious relic to me, and I secured it for the Major, who deemed it his most precious Lincoln treasure, for locks of his hair are more difficult to obtain than those of Washington. It is preserved in a handsome substantial gold box, with an appropriate inscription.

Six hundred dollars! Ah, how the market flourished in those days! Might not William Fleuville, Mr. Lincoln's "Billy the Barber," have amassed a tidy fortune had he only had the foresight to save the sweepings from his floor! But one wonders why, as General Wilson asserts, they were in such short supply.

In that connection allow me to quote from Dr. Taft's account of what transpired at the post-mortem examination:

> Mrs. Lincoln [wrote Dr. Taft] sent in a messenger with a request for a lock of hair. Dr. Stone clipped one from the region of the wound, and sent it to her. I extended my hand to him in mute appeal, and received a lock stained with blood, and other surgeons present also received one.

From this I can only conclude that poor Mr. Lincoln's head was ghoulishly if painlessly scalped. There is, moreover, evidence that Major Lambert had been had, for when his lock of Lincoln's hair, enclosed in a fourteen-carat case with a beveled glass top, was sold at auction, it brought only $330.

What price John Hay paid for his part of the Taft legacy

is unknown, but he, too, was probably overcharged for the reason that he was, as I have said, in a hurry. He had made his purchase on February 9, 1905; on March 3 he wrote:

DEAR THEODORE:

The hair in this ring is from the head of President Lincoln. Dr. Taft cut it off the night of the assassination and I got it from his son — a brief pedigree.

Please wear it tomorrow; you are one of the men who most thoroughly understand and appreciate Lincoln.

I have had your monogram and Lincoln's engraved on the ring. *Longas, O uitinam*[*sic*], *bone dux, ferias Praestes Hesperiae*

Yours affectionately

JOHN HAY

And on the same day the gentleman in the White House sent acknowledgment to his "Dear John":

Surely no other President, on the eve of his inauguration, has ever received such a gift from such a friend. I am wearing the ring now; I shall think of it and you as I take the oath tomorrow.

I wonder if you have any idea what your strength and wisdom and sympathy, what the guidance you have given me and the mere delight in your companionship, have meant to me in these three and a half years.

With love and gratitude,

Ever yours

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The gift was a resounding success. The *Washington Post* announced somewhat carelessly:

On the third finger of President Roosevelt's left hand during the inaugural ceremonies was a heavily embossed gold seal ring. The ring was a present to Mr. Roosevelt yesterday morning from Secretary of State John Hay. Instead of a seal, on the oval flat surface of the ring is a receptacle with a glass face. Under the glass is a lock of hair cut from the head of Abraham Lincoln just after his assassination, and before his death [*sic*].

While in his room and waiting for the ceremonies in the Senate chamber to begin, President Roosevelt called attention to the ring. Secretary Hay, he said, had given it to him, with the expressed wish that it should be worn during his inauguration.

"I am very happy to wear it," added the President, "and shall always value it very highly."

The ring is very like in pattern the one which Mr. Roosevelt wears on the little finger of same hand.

In his *Autobiography,* T. R. recalled his pleasure in the ring, writing:

John Hay was one of the most delightful of companions, one of the most charming of all men of cultivation and action. Our views on foreign affairs coincided absolutely; but, as was natural enough, in domestic matters he felt much more conservative than he did in the days when as a young man he was private secretary to the great radical democratic leader of the '60's, Abraham Lincoln. . . . When I was inaugurated on March 4, 1905, I wore a ring he sent me the evening before, containing the hair of Abraham Lincoln. This ring was on my finger when the Chief Justice administered to me the oath of allegiance to the United States; I often thereafter told John Hay that when I wore such a ring on such an occasion I bound myself more than ever to treat the Constitution, after the manner of Abraham Lincoln, as a document which put human rights above property rights when the two conflicted.

Hay the giver and Roosevelt the given are, as the saying goes, no more; but the hair, in its surrounding of splendor, survives at Sagamore Hill.

KING V. HOSTICK

Lincoln Letters Theme Has Not Been Exhausted

One of the country's leading dealers in historical Americana, King V. Hostick has a special interest in Lincoln documents because Springfield is one of his homes (Chicago is the other). His opinion is that in his lifetime he has bought and sold as many Lincoln manuscript items as has any other dealer.

AT LEAST two attempts since the death of Abraham Lincoln have been made to collect and edit all of his writings. Along with these two monumental efforts, several other minor collections also have been published.

"The edition of Abraham Lincoln's Works collected by Mr. John G. Nicolay and Col. John Hay must ever be regarded by students as the only complete, the only authorized, and the only standard collection." Thus read the opening paragraph of the prospectus for *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln,* edited by John G. Nicolay and John Hay and published in 1905. It continued:

> The eleven years which have elapsed since the first edition of this work was issued have but served to augment the honor, esteem and love in which the people of America have ever held the Great War President. . . .
>
> Now, however, the field has been well worked. Few, if any, items of importance can be any longer hidden. This, therefore, seems to be the appropriate time to gather and add them to the work of the original editors, which is thus rounded out and made a complete and definitive collection.

The greatly expanded 1905 twelve-volume work was the end result of the publication of 1894 by Nicolay and Hay. It seems needless to point out that, since their 1905 work was so greatly expanded, their first publication was far from being as complete as it might have been.

Subsequent to the Nicolay and Hay set, which actually appeared in variant editions, several different attempts were made to add to the Lincoln writings picture. Probably one of the best publicized was the appendix to Miss Ida Tarbell's *The Life of Abraham Lincoln,* which appeared in 1900.

Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln, by Gilbert A. Tracy, came out in 1917. Although not considered absolutely accurate in transcription, this presentation contained upward of three hundred new items of Lincoln's writings.

In 1927 Brown University published a volume containing hitherto unrecorded Lincoln items in the Charles W. McLellan Collection at that university.

New Letters and Papers of Lincoln was published by Paul M. Angle in 1930 while he was secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association in Springfield, and in 1931 Emanuel Hertz brought out his *Abraham Lincoln, a New Portrait.*

Rufus Rockwell Wilson assembled his *Uncollected Works of Abraham Lincoln* and published a volume in 1947 and a second volume in 1948. His intention was to incorporate all items not included in Nicolay and Hay. Wilson's compilation did not include Lincoln items dated after 1852.

Strictly speaking, relatively few items were unearthed considering the effort it surely must have taken to bring out all these volumes.[1] Certainly no "all inclusive" Lincoln

1. See also Paul M. Angle, *A Shelf of Lincoln Books* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1946), 3-16.

projects were attempted between the early years of the century and the announcement by the Abraham Lincoln Association of its intention of such an undertaking.

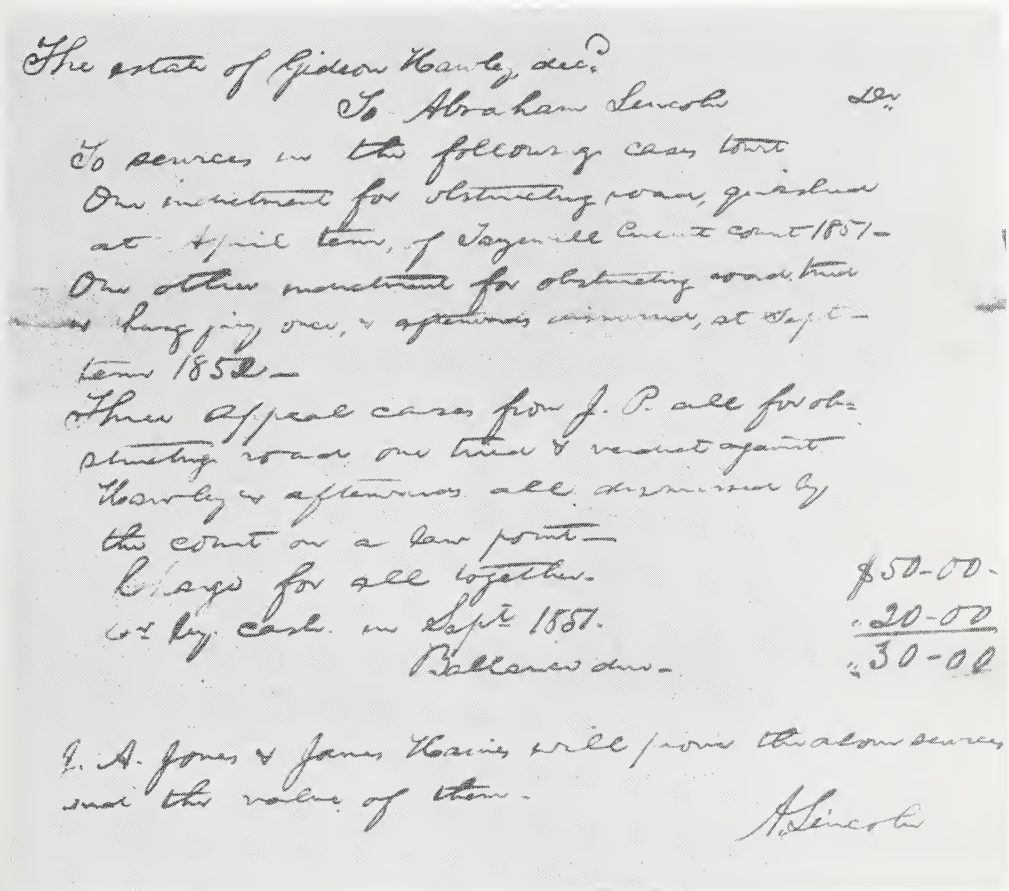
Formed originally as the Lincoln Centennial Association by a group of interested Springfield civic leaders, the Abraham Lincoln Association had a background of years spent in acquiring photostatic copies or typescripts of all known, as well as hitherto unknown, Lincoln letters and holographic items. After completing the compilation in 1952, the Association published its nine-volume *Works* in 1953.

In a promotional circular, issued in advance of the Association's *Works,* appeared the following:

> After twenty-five years of preparation, the entire body of Lincoln's writing has been assembled in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln.* . . . These nine volumes incorporate virtually everything that Lincoln left us. The editors estimate that *The Collected Works* contains ninety-nine per cent of all existing Lincoln material, and it is unlikely that more than a handful of items not included in this set will ever turn up. . . .
>
> *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* includes 6,870 items, of which 3,312 have never before been published in any collection. Among these items are a great many important letters, memoranda, endorsements, and even a considerable number of speeches not hitherto known.

I certainly do not wish to quarrel with the claim of *The Collected Works,* but it is my opinion that there are today still many more unfound Lincoln letters and writings. That "one per cent" which the promotional circular allowed certainly will not be adequate. Based on the number of unpublished Lincoln letters I have handled and others of which I have a first-hand knowledge, I would estimate that at least two hundred such letters have "come to light" since the *Collected Works* was published. And more will continue to appear in the years ahead.

In this two hundred, the largest group is that acquired by Brown University, numbering about fifty items. Among those handled by myself are the two reproduced with this article. The earlier of these is a bill submitted to the estate of a Tazewell County farmer, Gideon Hawley. On September 21, 1850, a grand jury had indicted Hawley on a charge of obstructing a road, presumably in Cincinnati Township, where he lived. This was one of several indict-



The estate of Gideon Hawley dec^d
To Abraham Lincoln Dr.
To services in the following cases towit
One indictment for obstructing road, quashed
at April term, of Tazewell Circuit Court 1851—
One other indictment for obstructing road, tried
& hung jury once, & afterwards dismissed, at Sept—
term 1852—
Three appeal cases from J. P. all for ob-
structing road one tried & verdict against
Hawley & afterwards all dismissed by
the court on a law point—
Charge for all together. $50-00-
Cr by cash in Sept 1851. 20-00
Ballance due— 30-00

J. A. Jones & James Haines will prove the above services
and the value of them.
A. Lincoln

J. A. Jones, mentioned at the bottom of this bill, was circuit clerk of Tazewell County; and James Haines was a young Pekin attorney who was Lincoln's partner in at least one of these cases.

ments the results of which are shown in Lincoln's bill which reads:

THE ESTATE OF GIDEON HAWLEY, DECD.

To Abraham Lincoln *Dr.*

To services in the following cases, towit
One indictment for obstructing road, quashed at April term, of Tazewell Circuit court 1851—
One other indictment for obstructing road, tried & hung jury once, & afterwards dismissed, at Sept— term 1852—
Three appeal cases from J. P. all for obstructing road, one tried & verdict against Hawley & afterwards all dismissed by the court on a law point—

Charge for all together	$ 50.00
Cr. by cash in Sept 1851.	20.00
Ballance due—	30.00

J. A. Jones & James Haines will prove the above services and the value of them

A. Lincoln

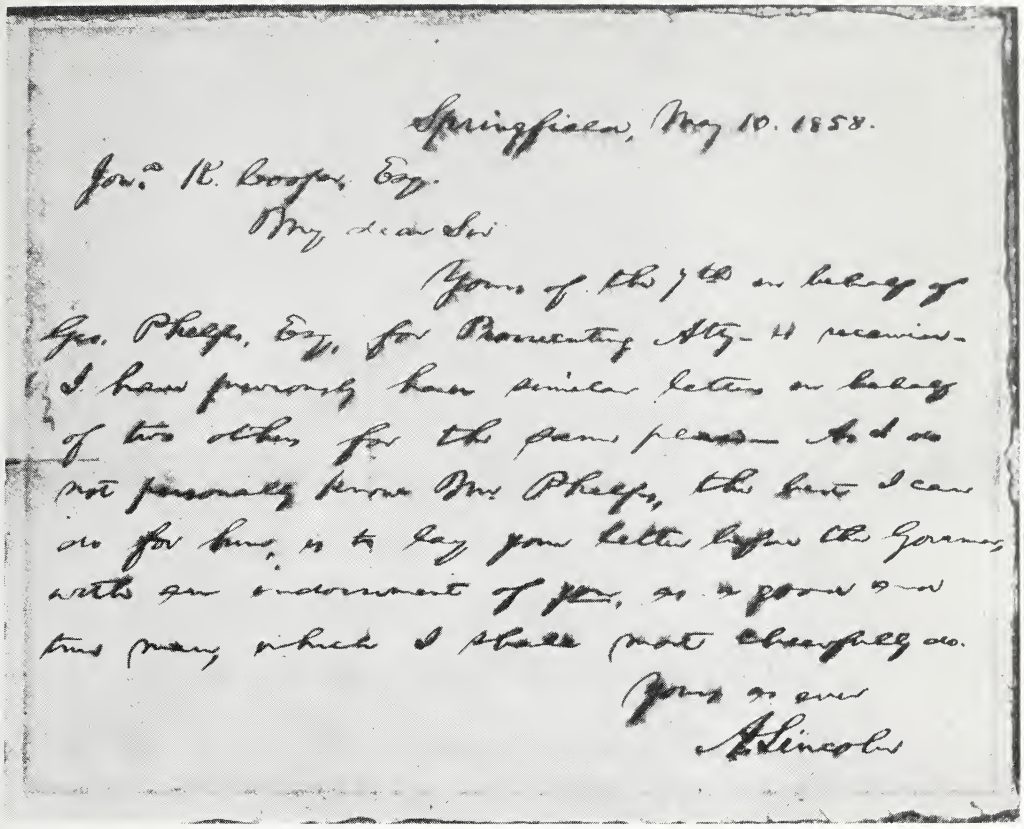
The other document reproduced with this article is a letter addressed to Jonathan K. Cooper of Peoria. On May 7, 1858, Cooper had written to Lincoln asking him to use whatever influence he might have with Governor William H. Bissell in obtaining an appointment as prosecuting attorney of the judicial circuit for George Phelps of Lewistown. Lincoln sent his letter on to the Governor with this endorsement: "I do not know Mr. Phelps; but I do know Mr. Cooper to be a good and true man." Then he wrote the following letter to Cooper:

SPRINGFIELD, MAY 10, 1858.

JONA K. COOPER, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR

Yours of the 7th on behalf of Geo. Phelps, Esq. for Prosecuting Atty. is received. I have previously had similar letters on be-



Springfield, May 10. 1858.

Jon.a K. Cooper, Esq.

My dear Sir

Yours of the 7th in behalf of Geo. Phelps, Esq., for Prosecuting Atty. is received. I have previously been similar letters in behalf of two others for the same place. As I do not personally know Mr. Phelps, the best I can do for him, is to lay your letter before the Governor, with an indorsement of you, as a good and true man, which I shall most cheerfully do.

Yours as ever

A. Lincoln

Lincoln explains his endorsement of the endorser rather than the endorsee, whom he did not know.

half of two others for the same place— As I do not personally know Mr. Phelps, the best I can do for him, is to lay your letter before the Governor, with an indorsement of *you,* as a good and true man, which I shall most cheerfully do.

Yours as ever
A. Lincoln

The number of letters published by the Abraham Lincoln Association makes it obvious that Lincoln was a prolific letter writer. By now, more than seven thousand of his holographic items are known to exist — from the earliest extant specimen of his writing, a youthful jingle in his

cipher book, down to his last note penned on April 14, 1865.

From any point of view, Abraham Lincoln drafted remarkably fine letters; despite his limited formal education, he wrote with a careful and methodical style, evident in both his handwriting and sentence structure. Even in early examples, the letters of his words are well shaped and evenly spaced. Above all, his sentences have a direct simplicity.

His earliest known autograph is "Abraham Lincoln," but he later adopted "A. Lincoln" as his preferred signature. After reaching adulthood, seldom, if ever, did he sign correspondence with his full signature, "Abraham Lincoln." Letters so signed are much rarer than those with the well-known signature. The full signature is usually found only on official state papers signed during his presidency. The reason for this is that the full signature of the Chief Executive is required by law on official government documents. On very rare occasions, and only to intimate friends, he signed simply as "Lincoln."

Whether it be a public repository, with hundreds of known original writings of the Emancipator, or the collector, equally proud of an autograph album signature or check of Lincoln's, the possessor of original holographic material is somehow closer to the Great American. The final curtain, however, is far from being lowered on the discovery stage for Lincoln letters and manuscripts, and on the elation and self-satisfaction which go with "making a new Lincoln find."

CHARLES H. COLEMAN

Lincoln's Lincoln Grandmother

The author, Charles H. Coleman, is a member of the Department of Social Science at Eastern Illinois University, Charleston. He is a frequent contributor to this Journal *and is the author of* The Election of 1868, Abraham Lincoln and Coles County *and* Eastern Illinois State College, Fifty Years of Public Service.

Part One: *Virginia*

NATURAL INTEREST in the name "Lincoln" has led us to neglect the fact that other branches of the President's family contributed equally to his biological inheritance. Abraham Lincoln was as much a Hanks as he was a Lincoln, and his father Thomas was as much a Herring as he was a Lincoln. As for acquired characteristics, Thomas owed more to his mother than to his father, who died when the boy was only eight years old, while his mother lived to the age of fourscore and fourteen years.

Thomas lived with his mother in Washington County, Kentucky, until 1796, when he was eighteen years old. His outstanding traits (which he shared with his distinguished son) were honesty, friendliness and consideration for others. For these the major credit must go to his mother, Bathsheba Herring Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln, the father of Thomas, went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania, not later than 1768 with his parents, John and Rebecca Flowers Lincoln, and their eight other children. Abraham, born in 1744, was

the oldest.[1] They settled in the Linville Creek neighborhood, in that part of Augusta County which in 1778 became Rockingham County.[2] Their home was in the beautiful and fertile Shenandoah Valley.

The year 1770 was a busy one for young Abraham Lincoln. It appears to have been the year he commenced his service in the Virginia militia, first as an "ensign" or "third officer" (today's second lieutenant), and later as a captain, a rank he attained not later than March, 1776.[3] In July, 1770, Abraham made his first land purchase, 200 acres of "colony land" (public land) in the Linville Creek neighborhood, on the east side of the creek.[4] The same month he began the accumulation of personal property with the purchase of two cows.[5]

More important, 1770 was the year of the marriage of Abraham Lincoln and Bathsheba Herring, the only daughter of Alexander Herring of Bridgewater, near Harrisonburg,

1. Waldo Lincoln, *History of the Lincoln Family . . .* (Worcester, Mass., 1923), 101; John W. Wayland, *The Lincolns in Virginia* (Staunton, Va., 1946), 24-25; Louis A. Warren, "The Herrings of Virginia," *The Lincoln Kinsman,* No. 3 (Sept., 1938), 8.

The children of John and Rebecca Lincoln were:

Abraham (1744-1786), died in Kentucky.

Hannah (1748-1803?), married John Harrison.

Lydia (1748-), twin sister of Hannah. Died after Feb. 8, 1786; mentioned in father's will of this date.

Isaac (1750-1816), died in Tennessee.

Jacob (1751-1822), died in Virginia.

John (1755-1835), died in Ohio.

Sarah (1757-), married —— Dean; died after Feb. 8, 1786.

Thomas (1761-1820), died in Kentucky.

Rebecca (1767-1840), married John Rymel.

2. Rockingham County, Va., was organized on March 1, 1778, with Harrisonburg as the county seat; J. H. Harrison, *Settlers by the Long Grey Trail . . .* (Dayton, Va., 1935), 237-38.

3. Augusta County, Va., Court-Martial Record, 1756-1796, pp. 49-85; Wayland, *Lincolns in Virginia,* 48, 50-51; Joseph A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia . . .* (Staunton, Va., 1902), 208; Waldo Lincoln, *Lincoln Family,* 193.

4. Wayland, *Lincolns in Virginia,* 54.

5. Augusta County Court, Will Book 4, pp. 329-30.

which was then in Augusta County. His application for a marriage license was dated June 9.[6] Both the cows and the land were purchased a few weeks after the marriage. Abraham was determined to show his bride that her husband was an enterprising young man.

Abraham's marriage license application does not include the name of his intended bride. The Augusta County records show that this was a common practice at the time,[7] but for many years it has caused great confusion among Lincoln students concerning the identity of the paternal grandmother of President Lincoln.

It has been suggested that the unnamed bride of 1770 was the first of two wives, that Thomas Lincoln, father of the President, was a son by the first marriage, and that the Bathsheba who accompanied Captain Abraham Lincoln to Kentucky in 1782 was the stepmother of Thomas. His own mother, according to this supposition, was Anne Boone or Mary Shipley or Elizabeth Winter or Hannah Winters.

The Anne Boone error was a very natural one, for an Abraham Lincoln *did* marry an Anne Boone, a cousin of the famous Daniel. But the Abraham in this case was the half-brother of John Lincoln, not the son, and the marriage took place in July, 1760, in Pennsylvania, not ten years later in Virginia. Since Anne Boone was a Quaker and her marriage took place "out of meeting," she was disciplined by her Quaker meeting. She acknowledged her error but nevertheless remained with her husband, by whom she had twelve children.[8]

6. Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia* . . . (Rosslyn, Va., 1912), II: 277; Wayland, *Lincolns in Virginia,* 41.

7. *Ibid.*

8. J. Henry Lea and J. R. Hutchinson, *The Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln* (Boston, 1909), 102-3; Waldo Lincoln, *Lincoln Family,* 53. There was a second Lincoln-Boone marriage in this generation of Lincolns. Sarah

The Mary Shipley story appears to have originated with J. L. Nall of Carthage, Missouri, a grandson of Nancy Lincoln Brumfield, the youngest daughter of Captain Abraham. In a letter to Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock, February 11, 1895, Nall gave Mary Shipley as the name of his great-grandmother, the wife of Captain Abraham.[9] To this statement Mrs. Hitchcock added details in 1899: "An Englishman named Robert Shipley of Lunenburg County [Virginia] and his wife, Sarah Rachael Shipley, had five daughters [including] Mary, who married Abraham Lincoln of Rockingham County, Va."[10] The Lincoln genealogists Lea and Hutchinson, citing Nall, accept Mary Shipley as the first wife of Captain Abraham and "the mother of his elder children." This first wife died in Virginia "some time previous to 1779," according to these authors, who accept Bathsheba Herring as the second wife of Abraham.[11] The Lincoln biographers Nicolay and Hay, citing Nall, also accept Mary Shipley as the wife of Abraham, whose marriage, they state, took place in North Carolina.[12]

Anne (or Ann) Boone also comes into the picture as the mother-in-law of Abraham rather than as his wife. According to J. A. Waddell's *Annals of Augusta County,* Abraham's wife was Elizabeth Winter, daughter of William and Ann Boone Winter.[13] But Hannah Winters, not Elizabeth

Lincoln, sister of John and aunt of the President's grandfather, married William Boone, who also was a cousin of Daniel Boone. This marriage took place in May, 1748; *ibid.,* 52.

9. *Lincoln Kinsman,* No. 3, p. 2.

10. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock, *Nancy Hanks: The Story of Abraham Lincoln's Mother* (New York, 1899), 24-25.

11. Lea and Hutchinson, *Ancestry of Lincoln,* 79. They state that Bathsheba was the daughter of Leonard Herring of Bridgewater, then in Augusta County.

12. John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1890), I: 5, 5n.

13. Waddell, *Augusta County,* 208. Wayland states that he does not know the source for Waddell's statement; *Lincolns in Virginia,* 41. Waddell is also cited by Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln,* I: 5n.

Winter, was the name of Abraham's wife, according to Gideon Welles, Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy. Nicolay and Hay state that Welles was convinced that "the Abraham Lincoln who married Hannah Winters, a daughter of Ann Boone, sister of the famous Daniel, was the President's grandfather."[14]

Out of this wilderness of genealogical confusion one recorded fact stands clear: With the removal of the family to Kentucky in prospect, on February 18, 1780, Abraham and Bathsheba Lincoln sold their Linville Creek farm of about 250 acres to Michael Shanks and John Reuf. The deed was signed by "Abrm Lincoln" and "Batsab Lincoln." In the deed and recording certificate (dated June 26), Mrs. Lincoln's first name is spelled "Bershaba," "Bathsheba" and "Bersheba."[15] Official records show, then, that Abraham

14. *Ibid.*

15. "Burnt Records" of Rockingham County, Deed Book O, p. 92. On June 4, 1864, troops of the 34th Mass. Inf., Lt. Col. William S. Lincoln commanding, seriously damaged records that had been taken from the Rockingham County Courthouse at Harrisonburg. Col. Lincoln tells the story in his *Life with the Thirty-fourth Mass. Infantry in the War of the Rebellion* (Worcester, Mass., 1879), 298: "On the march [after leaving Harrisonburg] we overtook and burned a train of wagons, which, loaded with material of war, had been driven from Harrisonburg, as we approached that place. Very curiously, the authorities there had thought it best to remove the records and public papers from the various county offices, and had had them loaded upon these wagons. Of course they were destroyed in the general burning." The Rockingham County officials were able to reconstruct many of the damaged and destroyed records, hence the name "Burnt Records" of Rockingham County. Thus unwittingly Lincoln's soldiers, under the command of a distant relative of the President, destroyed or damaged some of the records relating to the President's family. Samuel Lincoln, the apprentice weaver who came to Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1637, was the great-great-great-great-grandfather of both the President and Col. William Sever Lincoln (1811-1889), of Worcester, Mass. The Colonel descended from Samuel's oldest son, Samuel, Jr., and the President descended from Samuel's fourth son, Mordecai. Lt. Col. Lincoln was promoted full colonel in Oct., 1864, and brevetted brigadier general in June, 1865. He was wounded at the Battle of Newmarket in May, 1864. The injury resulted in a permanently disabled right arm. Waldo Lincoln, *Lincoln Family,* 414.

Lincoln applied for a marriage license in 1770, and that ten years later the name of his wife was Bathsheba (or Bersheba or Bershaba). Was she the mother of all five of his children, or, more particularly, was she the mother of the President's father Thomas (whose probable year of birth was 1778)?

Thanks to the careful investigations of Waldo Lincoln, William E. Barton, John W. Wayland and Louis A. Warren, it may be said with assurance that the bride of 1770 was Abraham's only wife and that her first name was Bathsheba. Very probably her family name was Herring. She was two years older than her husband and long survived him, dying in Kentucky in 1836 at the age of ninety-four.[16]

The evidence assigning the name "Herring" to Grandmother Bathsheba is circumstantial rather than documentary, and is based on recurring family tradition. Wayland, however, makes a persuasive point when he observes that since "the Christian name of Lincoln's wife was 'Bathsheba'" and since this name "occurs only in the Herring family in Rockingham County," it is logical to believe that President Lincoln's grandmother was "Bathsheba Herring, a daughter of Alexander Herring."[17]

Our interest in the names "Lincoln" and "Hanks" has led to genealogical investigations taking us back to the year 1543 in the case of the Lincolns and to the period of the English Civil War in the case of the Hankses. But with the Herrings, Bathsheba's probable family, we can go back with certainty only to her grandfather.

16. William E. Barton, *The Lineage of Lincoln* (Indianapolis, 1929), 51; Waldo Lincoln, *Lincoln Family*, 199, 202; Wayland, *Lincolns in Virginia*, 42; *Lincoln Kinsman*, No. 3, p. 3.

17. John W. Wayland, *Virginia Valley Records* . . . (Strasburg, Va., 1930), 322.

Alexander Herring of Sussex County, Delaware, who died between 1735 and 1738, and Margaret his wife (family name not recorded) had four children. Alexander Herring, Jr., their first-born, married in Delaware, about 1734, Abigail Harrison, a member of the family for whom Harrisonburg, Virginia, was named. They had five sons and one daughter, Bathsheba. She was born in 1742, about the time the family moved from Delaware to Augusta County, Virginia.[18] Usually referred to as a native of Virginia, she may have been born in Delaware.

Louis A. Warren, in the *Lincoln Kinsman,* has brought together the Herring family traditions relating to the marriage of Bathsheba Herring and Abraham Lincoln. In 1908 Charles Griffin Herring of Harrisonburg related to the genealogist J. Henry Lea a family tradition that Bathsheba's father objected to her marriage to Abraham Lincoln. According to this tradition:

> Abraham Lincoln, who married Bathsheba Herring, was a poor and rather plain man. Her aristocratic father looked with scorn on the alliance and gave his daughter the choice of giving up her lover or being disinherited. The high-spirited young woman did not hesitate. She married the man she loved and went with him to the savage wilds of Kentucky in 1782. Her husband was afterwards killed by an Indian, and one of her sons, a lad of twelve years, killed the Indian and avenged his father's death. Bathsheba Herring was a woman of fine intelligence and strong character. She was greatly loved and respected by all who knew her.[19]

It is doubtful if this tradition of parental objection has any basis in fact, since Abraham Lincoln was the oldest son of a prosperous farmer. After John Lincoln moved to Vir-

18. *Lincoln Kinsman,* No. 3, pp. 3-4, 8. Bathsheba's brothers were: Leonard, born about 1735; Alexander, died in 1779; William, died in 1806; Jesse, died in 1781; and Bethuel, the youngest, born in 1751.

19. Lea and Hutchinson, *Ancestry of Lincoln,* 203.

ginia he purchased in 1768, for cash, 600 fertile Valley acres.[20] He was a man of substance and standing in the community. Although his son Abraham was not yet a property owner in June, 1770, he had excellent "prospects," as was shown by his purchase of 200 acres soon after his marriage. By 1780, when he sold his Rockingham County property preparatory to moving to Kentucky, he owned 250 acres, for which he received £5,000.[21] At the time of his marriage there was no thought of moving to the "savage wilds of Kentucky." When he did move west twelve years after his marriage, his father-in-law was five years in his grave.[22] Furthermore, Abraham's rank as a militia officer shows that he was well regarded in the community.

Neither the Lincolns nor the Herrings were aristocrats in the social or hereditary sense. They were not Tidewater grandees; they were Valley farmers — democratic, prosperous and respected. It is hard to see on what grounds a Herring could object to a marital alliance with a Lincoln. That the two families moved in the same circles is shown further by the fact that both married into the Harrison family. Bathsheba's mother was Abigail Harrison, a daughter of Isaiah Harrison. Hannah Lincoln, Abraham's sister, married John Harrison, a cousin of Bathsheba.[23]

As Warren points out, it is possible that sectional prejudice has crept into the family tradition concerning the marriage of Bathsheba Herring and the President's grandfather. The Virginia Herrings of the Civil War period would hardly have been enthusiastic about a family connection with the

20. Augusta County Court, Deed Book 15, pp. 50-55.

21. Rockingham County Burnt Records, Deed Book O, p. 92.

22. *Lincoln Kinsman,* No. 3, p. 5.

23. Waldo Lincoln, *Lincoln Family,* 101; Harrison, *Settlers by the Long Grey Trail,* 282-83; *Lincoln Kinsman,* No. 3, p. 6.

Republican President. Warren refers to Margaret D. Herring as an example. Miss Herring, born in 1810, was a grandniece of Bathsheba; her grandfather was Bathsheba's brother William. "Being an ardent southerner she . . . formed a personal dislike" for President Lincoln. Nevertheless, according to a nephew, W. S. Fallis, she "most always spoke of the marriage of her aunt . . . Bathsheba . . . and Abraham Lincoln and spoke of opposition of the family to the marriage."[24]

In 1900 Herring Chrisman, great-grandson of William Herring, Bathsheba's brother, wrote his "Memoirs of Lincoln," which his son William Herring Chrisman published in 1930. In this forty-years-after-the-event account Chrisman tells of a visit to President-elect Lincoln late in 1860. A native of Rockingham County, Chrisman had moved to Illinois in 1858. According to Chrisman's account of the 1860 visit, when Lincoln was told that his visitor's mother was a Herring, of Virginia, he accepted Chrisman as a kinsman (this, despite the fact that there is no evidence, other than Chrisman's story, that the President knew either the given name or the family name of his paternal grandmother). Nevertheless, Chrisman maintained that Lincoln replied, when asked if he knew his grandmother's name, "I think I have heard them say her name was Herring." With the family relationship accepted, Lincoln went on, "I have at last found a man with some of the same blood in his veins that I have."

The two men were then talking in an office at the Statehouse, and Lincoln later took Chrisman to his home and presented him to Mrs. Lincoln as a kinsman.[25]

24. *Ibid.*, 5-6.

25. Herring Chrisman, *Memoirs of Lincoln* (Mapleton, Ia., 1930).

The five children of Abraham and Bathsheba Lincoln were all born at the family home in the Linville Creek neighborhood of Augusta (later Rockingham) County. Although Abraham sold his farm and home (which was across the creek and about three hundred yards west of his father's home[26]) in 1780, the family did not move to Kentucky until 1782, when their youngest child was two years old.

Their first child was Mordecai. He was born in 1771, married Mary Mudd in Washington County, Kentucky, in 1792, and died in Hancock County, Illinois, in 1830.[27] About two years later, probably in 1773, Josiah was born. He married Catey Barlow in Washington County in 1803 and died in Indiana in 1835. The third child and the first daughter was Mary, born about 1776. She married Ralph Crume in Washington County in 1801 and died in Kentucky, the date of her death not determined. Thomas, the third son, who became the father of the President, was born in 1778. He married Nancy Hanks in Washington County in 1806 and, after her death, married Mrs. Sarah Bush Johnston in Hardin County, Kentucky, in 1819. Thomas died in Coles County, Illinois, in 1851. Nancy, the fifth and last child of Abraham and Bathsheba, was born in 1780. She married William Brumfield in 1801 and died in Kentucky in 1845.[28] Infant mortality was high on the American frontier in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as a visit to any century-old graveyard will show. That the Lincolns had five children and reared them all, must be in part a measure of Bathsheba's devotion as a mother.

The three Lincoln boys — Mordecai, Josiah and Thomas

26. Wayland, *Lincolns in Virginia,* 52 (map).

27. Waldo Lincoln, *Lincoln Family,* 202.

28. *Lincoln Kinsman,* No. 3, p. 8; Waldo Lincoln, *Lincoln Family,* 202-3.

– followed the family tradition of moving with the advancing frontier. Born in Virginia, reared in Kentucky, they pushed on to either Indiana or Illinois. Perhaps it is significant that the three sons of Abraham, the father and uncles of a greater Abraham, ended their days in states where slavery did not exist.

During the first ten years of his marriage Abraham Lincoln acquired a total of 452 acres in Rockingham County. This land consisted of 200 acres of public land secured in July, 1770,[29] a portion of his father's holdings, amounting to 200 acres, sold to him by the latter in August, 1773, for the nominal price of £20 5s.,[30] and, six years later, in September, 1779, 52 acres adjoining on the southwest the land he had received from his father. This land was acquired from one Holton Muncey for £500, "current money of Virginia."[31] This last phrase shows that Abraham paid in the paper currency of the state, then (in the middle of the American Revolution) much depreciated. These transactions are those of a man settled on his own property, seeking to increase it, with no thought of migrating to a wild and primitive frontier. Yet, six months after this purchase, Abraham and Bathsheba sold their 252-acre farm for £5,000[32] and used the proceeds to purchase land warrants good for 1,200 acres in Kentucky.[33] Following the purchase of these warrants in March, 1780, Abraham departed for Kentucky on a trip to locate the land the warrants entitled him to select. He remained in Kentucky for about a

29. Wayland, *Lincolns in Virginia,* 54.

30. Augusta County Deed Book, XIX: 359-63.

31. Burnt Records of Rockingham County, Deed Book O, pp. 53-55; Wayland, *Lincolns in Virginia,* 47, 52 (map).

32. Rockingham County, Deed Book O, p. 92; Wayland, *Lincolns in Virginia,* 51-53.

33. Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln,* I: 10 (facsimile of Land Warrant No. 3334).

year, during which time he entered 400 acres in Jefferson County and 800 acres in Lincoln County.[34]

The sale of the 252-acre Linville Creek farm was not final until Mrs. Lincoln had formally relinquished her dower right in the property. This was not done until September, 1781, some months after Abraham had returned from Kentucky. Presumably the Lincolns had not yet given possession to the new owners, Michael Shanks and John Reuf, since two examiners named by the Rockingham County Court went to the Lincoln home on September 24 to see Bathsheba, for "the wife of the sd Abraham Lincoln is unable to travel to our sd. County Court." At the Lincoln home the examiners "did there privately and apart from her husband Abr Lincoln examine Barshaba his wife," who "freely & voluntarily relinquished" her dower right.[35]

The examination of Mrs. Lincoln over a year and a half after the sale of the Lincoln farm to Shanks and Reuf raises the question, why the delay? Abraham had returned from Kentucky about the first of May, 1781. Had he found what he wanted in Kentucky? Quite possibly Bathsheba had insisted upon waiting until she was certain the move to Kentucky was going to be made before she made the sale of the family farm irrevocable by formally relinquishing her dower right. Or perhaps she was reluctant to agree to the move to Kentucky, and it took Abraham from May to September to persuade her. Bathsheba's "examination" was not, however, the signal for the start to Kentucky, for the family did not move over the Wilderness Road to Abraham's Lincoln County land until the following spring — probably in March or April, 1782.

34. Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 55.

35. Rockingham County, Deed Book O, p. 139; Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 262.

Why was Mrs. Lincoln "unable to travel to our sd. County Court" at Harrisonburg, only eight miles distant? Was she suffering from the "summer complaint" (malaria)? A year and a half before, her last child, Nancy, had been born. Had this left her in frail health, as Barton suggests?[36] This is unlikely, since Abraham had left for his Kentucky land-locating trip within a few weeks after Nancy's birth, which he would hardly have done if his wife had been in poor health, with five children to care for. Regardless of the reason for her poor health in September, 1781, the fact remains that six months later she was in good enough health to start with her family down the Valley Road, headed for the land beyond the Cumberlands, where, in frail health or not, she lived to the age of ninety-four.

The 200-acre tract of public land Abraham had entered in 1770 remains to be accounted for. On January 2, 1782, Abraham assigned this land to his brother Jacob.[37] This date is significant in arriving at the date of the departure for Kentucky: Obviously, Abraham did not leave Virginia until after January 2, 1782. He probably waited until March or April, about the same time of year that he had left on his land-locating trip two years before. He did not want to add the hardships of winter weather to the inescapable hazards of the Wilderness Road: wild animals, and, more dangerous than bears and panthers, resentful Indians who in the 1780's had not reconciled themselves to the pre-emption of their Kentucky hunting grounds by land-hungry white men.

It is difficult for a twentieth-century reader to understand why Abraham and Bathsheba Lincoln decided to

36. *Ibid.*, 56.

37. Wayland, *Lincolns in Virginia,* 54.

leave their fertile Valley farm and take their five children, two to eleven years old, over the Indian-infested Wilderness Road to the Kentucky frontier. In Rockingham County they had economic security and their neighbors' respect. But pioneering was in the blood of the Lincolns. In the direct line back to Samuel, the English apprentice-weaver immigrant, only Mordecai his son died in the same colony in which he was born (Massachusetts). Mordecai, Jr., was born in the Bay Colony and died in Pennsylvania; his son John was a native of New Jersey and died in Virginia; his son Abraham, born in Pennsylvania, died in Kentucky; his son Thomas, a native of Virginia, died in Illinois, and the President was born in Kentucky and was a citizen of Illinois at the time of his death.

Part Two: *Kentucky*

SOME TIME in the first half of 1782, probably in the spring, Abraham and Bathsheba Lincoln, with their five children, left Rockingham County for Kentucky, where, two years before, Abraham had used Virginia land warrants to locate and "enter" 1,200 acres of land in Lincoln and Jefferson counties.[38] Their destination was the 800-acre tract on Green River in Lincoln County.

No surviving document or letter tells us the day or the manner of their going. The Lincoln family was a part of the "great migration" from Virginia and North Carolina to Kentucky and Tennessee which resulted in such a population increase that Kentucky was admitted as a state in 1792 and Tennessee in 1796. The main stream of immigra-

38. Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 55. Kentucky was a part of the state of Virginia until its admission as the fifteenth state in 1792.

tion to Kentucky was over the Wilderness Road,[39] which started some eighty-five miles east of Cumberland Gap, at the "Block House," where roads from Virginia and North Carolina joined. The road entered Kentucky at Cumberland Gap and proceeded northwesterly to Fort Nelson (Louisville) on the Ohio River, going by way of Hazel Patch (near London, Kentucky), Logan's Station (Stanford), Harrod's Station (Harrodsburg) and Bardstown. At Hazel Patch a right fork went north to Boonesboro. The destination of the Lincoln family was Logan's Station, where the road came closest to the Green River land chosen by Abraham for a home. The total distance from Rockingham County to Logan's Station was about 430 miles. The Lincoln party followed the Valley Road southwest from Linville Creek, going through Harrisonburg, Staunton, Botetourt Courthouse, Fort Chiswell, Washington Courthouse, and on to the Block House. This first 250 miles was suitable for wagons. It is reasonable to suppose that part of the trip was made with a wagon loaded with provisions that were consumed along the way. At the Block House they could sell their wagon to some east-bound party that had come over the Wilderness Road with pack horses.

Here Bathsheba had to make a final choice of what to take with them to Kentucky. Packsaddles, not a wagon, must hold all their possessions. What about those few pieces of cherished glassware that her mother had used in Delaware? As the wagon was unloaded and its load placed in piles for packing on the horses, Bathsheba had to admit

39. The Wilderness Road, originally marked by Daniel Boone in 1775, followed for much of its length an Indian "warriors' path." It was really a pack-horse trail until 1796, when Kentucky provided for its improvement to a wagon road. Robert L. Kincaid, *The Wilderness Road* (Indianapolis, 1947), 188-91.

that Abraham had been right when he objected to the glassware. The pack horses must be loaded with necessities: Gunpowder and lead, two or three pots and pans, a bucket, a spade, a scythe, an axe, a wood auger, a riving tool to make shingles, a few articles of clothing, a few blankets and possibly a feather tick just about made up the list. Other things they could make: wooden bowls, stools and tables, even wooden forks and spoons. Bearskins would serve as bed covers, and deerskins would provide jackets and even pantaloons. The wilderness itself would furnish most of the food needed on the trip: meat in abundance, fish on occasion, and such greens as the wild onion and dandelion. They were traveling too early in the year to find wild fruit and berries.

Bathsheba could hope to obtain some articles to add to the comfort of living from merchants who would be not far behind the pioneer settlers. They would bring their stock in trade to Kentucky by the water route: down the Monongahela and the Ohio to the falls at Fort Nelson; portaging around the falls, on down the Ohio and then up the Green River.

The Lincoln family may have tarried at the Block House a few days, waiting for the gathering of a party large enough to give protection from the Indians. Just who rode with the Lincolns over the narrow trail is not known, but the party probably included a score or more of "guns" or armed men, ready and able to give attacking Shawnees or Chickamaugas a warm reception. Abraham was a valuable man for such a venture, for he had been over the trail a year before and had spent some time in Kentucky, picking up much Indian lore.

Lacking an account of the trip, we can only surmise how

the Lincolns looked as they moved in single file along the wooded aisle to Cumberland Gap and the "Wilderness" of forest and thicket beyond. Abraham headed the group, leading the horse carrying Bathsheba and baby Nancy. On his shoulder, loaded and primed, was his flintlock Kentucky rifle, one of the "breed" of guns that defeated the British at King's Mountain (1780) and at New Orleans (1815), defied the Mexicans at the Alamo (1836) and won the "Dark and Bloody Ground" beyond the Cumberlands from the Indians. These shoulder-high muzzle-loading products of Pennsylvania-German gunsmiths, with their "hair triggers" and rifled bore, were accurate and long-ranged.[40]

Next in line may have come four-year-old Tommy and six-year-old Mary, sharing without benefit of saddle the broad back of one of the horses that had pulled the wagon during the first part of the trip. It is likely that the Lincolns had five horses, four draft animals which had been used with the wagon and at least one riding horse, possibly the trail-wise horse that had been with Abraham on his earlier trip. The two older boys were afoot, each leading one or two pack horses — their special charges on the trail and at stops and overnight camps — a serious responsibility, for horses were prime attractions for marauding Indians. Mordecai, now eleven, may have proudly carried a rifle, to the envy of nine-year-old Josiah, whose martial ardor had to be satisfied with a hunting knife.

It is odd that there are no surviving family traditions about the trip to Kentucky, for to the three Lincoln boys it was a high adventure, to be recounted to their friends in the years to come with many embellishments involving

40. John G. W. Dillin, *The Kentucky Rifle* (Washington, D.C., 1924), is the most complete study made of this weapon of the pioneers.

bloody skirmishes with Indians and feats of marksmanship at the expense of savages and bears. Actually, the Lincolns and their companions on the trail in 1782 escaped Indian trouble. We can say this with some assurance because of the absence of any contrary tradition. The story of the murder of Abraham on his Jefferson County farm in 1786 was retold frequently as the point of greatest drama in the family history,[41] but there is not a word concerning the trip over the Wilderness Road four years earlier.

Indian attack upon travelers on the Wilderness Road in the 1780's was not just a vague hazard; it was an ever-present danger. In 1784, for example, two years after the migration of the Lincolns, over one hundred men, women and children were murdered by Indians along the road.[42] And 1782 was a bad "Indian year" in Kentucky. It was the year of the last and most determined effort of the Shawnees to drive the whites from their Kentucky hunting grounds. A war party of about six hundred warriors, led by the renegade Simon Girty and assisted by a few British soldiers under a Major Caldwell, invaded Kentucky in August, 1782. The Indians made an unsuccessful attack on Bryan's Station, nine miles north of Lexington, and withdrew to the northeast, toward the Ohio River, pursued by one hundred sixty Kentuckians. The Indians ambushed the Kentuckians, who had disregarded the advice of Colonel Daniel Boone to wait for reinforcements. The resulting Battle of Blue Licks, August 19, 1782 – the "last battle of the Ameri-

41. In a letter dated April 1, 1854, to his second cousin Jesse Lincoln, the future President wrote that the story of the death of his grandfather by the Indians was "the legend more strongly than all others imprinted upon my mind and memory." Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), II: 217.

42. Kincaid, *Wilderness Road,* 175.

can Revolution" – was an Indian and British victory. The Kentuckians lost nearly half their force, and the survivors scattered through the forest to their homes.[43] Among those killed were Israel Boone, a son of Daniel, and Colonel John Todd, a brother of Colonel Levi Todd, who survived to become the grandfather of Mary Ann Todd Lincoln.[44]

Just when the Lincoln family left the Wilderness Trail at Logan's Station and proceeded the few miles across country to Abraham's 800 acres on Green River we do not know, but it probably was not later than the end of April. At the time the land was entered by Abraham, on June 7, 1780, it was described as lying six miles below Green River Lick and as including an "improvement" made by Jacob Gum and Owen Dever.[45] The existence of this "improve-

43. Richard H. Collins, *History of Kentucky* (Covington, Ky., 1874), I: 20.

44. William H. Townsend, *Lincoln and the Bluegrass: Slavery and Civil War in Kentucky* (Lexington, Ky., 1955), 25-26. Levi, John and Robert Todd came to Kentucky in 1775 over the Wilderness Road, hard on the heels of the trail-blazer Daniel Boone. Levi was one of the founders of Lexington in 1780. His son Robert Smith Todd (born 1791) was the father of the future Mrs. Lincoln, who was born on Dec. 13, 1818. In Pennsylvania and Virginia both the Todds and the Lincolns were well-to-do farmers. Members of both families decided to try their fortunes in the fertile but primitive Kentucky country. Capt. Abraham Lincoln and Col. Levi Todd were gambling – gambling for future prosperity and security against hostile Indians, against faulty land titles and against the hardships of a pioneer community. Abraham, who was killed by an Indian, lost; and his widow and her children suffered the handicap of making a frugal living without the aid of their natural provider. Levi Todd won, and became the founder of a prosperious and socially prominent family in the fertile Bluegrass region. Yet years later, in frontier Illinois, the grandson of Abraham and the granddaughter of Levi met and married.

45. Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 55, 264, 272: Nelson County Court (Bardstown), Possessioners Report, 25. Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858* (Boston, 1928), I: 10, states that Gum and Dever had moved on this land in 1779, and that Abraham Lincoln purchased two warrants for the land from them, in June, 1780. Since in the spring of 1780 Lincoln used the warrants he had paid for earlier, it is difficult to see why he should have paid a second time. He may have paid the two men something for the cabin they had built, but he had no legal obligation to do so since Gum and Dever were "squatters."

ment" or cabin probably was the reason the Lincolns selected the Green River property as their destination. There was no cabin on the Jefferson County property; at the time of his death in May, 1786, Abraham and his boys were working on a cabin on the Jefferson County land, to which the family had moved between October and December, 1784.[46]

Why the stay of only two years and a half on the Green River land? The reason was probably the danger from Indians, for the Lincoln farm was not close to any fort (or "station"), while the Jefferson County land to which they moved was adjacent to Hughes's Station. The family lived at the Station while the cabin was being built. On October 12, 1784, Lincoln had his Lincoln County land surveyed, and on the same day he assigned his claim to the property to Christopher Riffe. Apparently Riffe did not pay for the land at that time, since a patent for the land was issued to Abraham on May 17, 1787 (one year after his death), and his son Mordecai made a deed to the Riffe heirs in 1803.[47]

Life looked good to Bathsheba and her husband and the five children at Hughes's Station in 1785 and 1786. They were free from Indian danger, they thought, since their farm on Floyd's Fork of Long Run was almost in the shadow of the Station, and they were living in one of the eight cabins that formed the walls of the fort. Meanwhile, Abraham and the boys cleared the land, put in crops and erected the cabin that was to serve as their future home. The isolation and danger of living in a lone cabin, miles from the nearest settlement, were behind them. They enjoyed the social life at the Station and the children had a chance, for the first time since leaving Virginia, to attend school. Perhaps

46. Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 67, 272.

47. *Ibid.,* 74, 76, 264, 272.

Bathsheba herself was the schoolmistress, for we know that she was able to read and write — not a common accomplishment of women on the Kentucky frontier.[48]

But the day of their content was short. In May, 1786,[49] about a year and a half after coming to the Floyd's Fork farm, the husband and father was shot by an Indian. Abraham and his sons were planting corn in a recently cleared field by the unfinished family cabin. Bathsheba and the girls were at home in the Hughes's Station cabin, less than half a mile distant. The Indian was one of a small party of marauding Shawnees who had slipped across the nearby Ohio, bent on collecting scalps. Shooting from the edge of the forest, the Indian ran forward to take the scalp of his victim and perhaps grab eight-year-old Tommy, who had remained by his father's body, not fully realizing what had happened. But the Indian reckoned without fifteen-year-old Mordecai, the oldest son. Sizing up the situation at once, Mordecai sent Josiah, now thirteen, on a run to Hughes's Station to bring help, while he dashed to the nearby cabin where his father's rifle was at hand. Pushing the long barrel through the logs of the unchinked cabin, Mordecai took careful aim at the Indian who had reached the body and was about to take the scalp. Mordecai had to shoot accurately, for he would not have time to reload and prime for a second shot. Furthermore, Tommy, now

48. That illiteracy remained common among the women of Kentucky for some years beyond the frontier era is suggested by the fact that the two wives of Thomas Lincoln, Nancy Hanks and Sarah Bush Johnston, whom he married in 1806 and 1819, respectively, were both unable to sign their names.

49. In an autobiographical sketch written by Abraham Lincoln in 1860, he referred to his grandfather's death as having taken place "about the year 1784." *Collected Works,* IV: 60. He was misinformed. The date May, 1786, is established by a bill filed in a lawsuit in 1797 by Mordecai Lincoln, the oldest son. Louis A. Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage and Childhood* . . . (New York, 1926), 297; Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 62, for statement by Bland W. Ballard.

realizing that the Indian had killed his father, was struggling futilely with the savage, who expected to abduct the boy after lifting the scalp. Mordecai took careful aim at a shiny ornament on the Indian's chest and hit the mark, avenging his father and saving his brother. Help soon arrived from the fort, and the remaining Indians of the scalping party were put to flight, leaving one of their number wounded in addition to the Shawnee Mordecai had killed earlier.[50]

Abraham Lincoln had made a fatal mistake. He had violated an unwritten law of the frontier: When working in an open field, never get far from your rifle. The Indian crouching in the underbrush could see that there was no gun leaning against a convenient stump and was emboldened to take a chance shot. Indians were notorious for their poor marksmanship with the white man's weapon, and the Shawnee would not have been likely to fire a shot that would have been promptly returned if he had missed. But he did not miss. Then the Indian made his fatal mistake. He came into the open with an empty gun and gave Mordecai time to reach the rifle in the cabin.

Bathsheba heard with dismay the report that Josiah brought to the fort. Hoping against hope that Abraham was only wounded, she ignored the warnings of her friends and rushed to the farm, hard on the heels of the men who had run to Mordecai's assistance. Soon her fears were realized. All that remained was the funeral service at the fort, probably conducted by a Baptist minister, and

50. Herndon describes the tragedy as told him by Lincoln, who had the story from his father and possibly from his Uncle Mordecai also. Following this account, Herndon tells of Mordecai's intense hatred of Indians because of this experience. Paul M. Angle, ed., *Herndon's Life of Lincoln* (New York, 1930), 10-11.

the burial on Abraham's own land, in a location that was to become, in time, the burial ground of the Long Run Baptist Church, the first building of which was to be erected about 1797.[51]

There appears to be no evidence that Bathsheba and the five children ever occupied the cabin on the family farm her husband and sons had been working on. Considering the manner of Abraham's death, it is logical to assume that Bathsheba and the children remained in the cabin which was a part of Hughes's Station, especially since we know that in about six months the family left for Nelson (later Washington) County.

It appears likely that the murder of Abraham was not the only Indian outrage in that section of Kentucky during the spring and summer of 1786. In September, the Kentuckians organized an expedition against the Indians north of the Ohio, which was to be commanded by General George Rogers Clark. Captain George Pomeroy enlisted a company from the Hughes's Station neighborhood to serve under General Clark.[52]

A public subscription to obtain articles for the use of Captain Pomeroy's company was requested. Thirty-one individuals contributed, thirty of them men. The only woman was "Widow Lincoln," who donated a gun valued at £ 8. This was one of four guns on the list, which included ten head of cattle and five horses, the whole having a value of £188 11s.[53] Bathsheba had contributed the best gun in the family, for when Abraham's personal property estate

51. There is no surviving account of the funeral service or burial of Abraham. Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 65-66, 273-77, accepts the tradition that Abraham was buried on his own land.

52. Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage,* 6.

53. Subscription list in Durrett Collection, University of Chicago Library; Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage,* 298-99, prints the full list.

was appraised by order of the Nelson County Court on March 10, 1789, three guns were listed, none of them valued as much as the one donated to the Clark expedition. There were a "smoothbar [smoothbore or shotgun] valued at 10s.," and two rifles, one valued at £5 and the other at £3 10s.[54]

More than two years passed after the death of Abraham before an administrator was appointed to settle his estate. When John Caldwell was named to this responsibility in October, 1788,[55] it was by order of the county court of Nelson County, where Bathsheba and her children had been living in the Beech Fork community since about October, 1786.[56] (This section of the county became Washington County in 1792.)

Why the delay? Possibly because the oldest son and "heir at law," Mordecai Lincoln,[57] was only fifteen years old when his father was killed. Since Abraham died without leaving a will,[58] Bathsheba was entitled only to her dower right of one-third of the estate. While awaiting the settlement of the estate, Bathsheba continued to enjoy the use of all of the family's possessions, both real and personal. Hence the delay was in her interest.

On March 10, 1789, three appraisers appointed by the Nelson County Court (Peter Sybert, Christopher Barlow and John Slack) submitted an appraisal of Abraham Lincoln's personal property. Its total value was £68 16s. 6d.; a considerable increase over the possessions brought with the family by pack horse in 1782. The items included the three guns previously mentioned, two horses, eight head of

54. Will Book A, p. 48, Nelson County Court. Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage,* 299-300, prints the appraisal list with minor inaccuracies.

55. Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 75; Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage,* 172.

56. Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 68; Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage,* 298-99; *Lincoln Lore,* No. 385.

57. Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage,* 297.

58. *Ibid.*

cattle, a plow and other farming tools, carpenter's tools, a flax wheel, kitchen ware and pewter dishes, and three bedsteads with feather ticks.[59] Together with landholdings, this list suggests that the Lincolns were as well off as most of their neighbors, and probably better off than many. John Caldwell's bond as administrator was £1,000. This gives some idea of the value of Abraham's estate. Seven years after being appointed administrator of the Lincoln estate, Caldwell was a brigadier general of the Kentucky militia.[60] It speaks well for the Lincoln family that a man of such standing was appointed by the court to protect the interests of the widow and her children.

Some of the household articles in the appraisal list permit us to take a peek at the domestic activities of a pioneer Kentucky family. Three hoes remind us that there were three boys in the family. Meals were prepared at the open fireplace in a "Dutch oven and cule [cover] weighing 15 lbs," valued at 15s., and a "Small iron kettle and cule weighing 12 lbs," valued at 12s. When ready, meals were served on "1 dozen pewter plates," from "2 Pewter dishes," the pewter ware being appraised at £2 7s. 6d. A "Candlestick," value 9s., fitted with a homemade candle (using a borrowed candle mould if they owned none), added to the light from the fireplace for the short interval between supper and the downy softness of the featherbeds. A "Flax Wheel," 6s., in the skillful hands of Bathsheba, provided the "linsey-woolsey" woven on a neighbor's hand loom from which shirts, dresses and other garments were made. A "Pair smoothing irons," value 15s., suggests that Bathsheba

59. Nelson County Court, Will Book A, p. 48; printed in Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage,* 299-300, with minor inaccuracies.

60. Militia roll in Durrett Collection; printed in Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 282-83, with minor inaccuracies.

and the children presented a neat appearance. The listing of three "augers," used to bore holes for wooden pegs, reminds us of the scarcity of nails among the Kentucky pioneers.

The personal property list included no tables, chairs, cupboards, bedsteads or other furniture. A possible explanation is that Bathsheba disposed of the family furniture in the fall of 1786, when she left Hughes's Station for the Beech Fork community in Nelson County. There she and the children made their home with Hananiah Lincoln, a cousin of Abraham's, to whom Abraham had loaned a substantial amount of money. Possibly Bathsheba donated the furniture to Hananiah, who married Sarah Jeffreys in February, 1787.[61]

The extent of the family landholdings at the time of Abraham's death is uncertain. From March, 1780, to December, 1782, he purchased Virginia land warrants entitling him to nearly 4,000 acres of state-owned land in Kentucky. Over half of it became the subject of litigation after his death. The Washington County tax lists[62] for 1796 show that Mordecai Lincoln, his father's heir-at-law, was assessed for 4,434 acres, located in Washington (100 acres), Jefferson (400), Hardin (1,134) and Lincoln (2,800) counties. Some of this land Mordecai had acquired after the death of his father, and some of it was still under litigation. As for the situation in May, 1786, we can say that Abraham held undisputed title to 1,700 acres and a strong claim to at least 2,268 acres more. Abraham and Bathsheba in their four years of Kentucky residence had made a good start toward financial success.

61. Marriage bond, Feb. 9, 1787, Nelson County Court, Marriage Register, Vol. I.

62. On microfilm, Kentucky State Historical Society, Old Capitol, Frankfort.

Abraham's death at age forty-two, leaving unsettled land titles and uncollected loans, brought to an end the growth of the family's estate, since there was no adult son to protect the family interest and to continue the acquisition of property for the interest of Bathsheba and her children. Abraham had gambled with the conditions of frontier life and had lost.

Bathsheba was forty-four years old when her husband was killed. Why did she not remarry? Warren observes on this point that "the scarcity of women in Kentucky at that early date must have brought many suitors to the door of Bersheba [*sic*] Lincoln, but her life was evidently lived in the interest of her children."[63] Which is logical.

Bathsheba probably chose the Beech Fork community (near Springfield, Kentucky) as the location of her new home because that was where Hananiah Lincoln lived.[64] It is likely that Abraham's loans to Hananiah had been made to enable him to purchase land. We know that Mrs. Lincoln had difficulty in collecting this money due her husband's estate, since the administrator John Caldwell brought suit against Hananiah in Nelson County Court. The suit was settled by arbitration in 1790, in favor of the Lincoln heirs.[65]

The date of this suit may be significant in determining the approximate date that Hananiah and his wife left Beech Fork for Hardin County, leaving Bathsheba and her children in possession of the house where they had moved in

63. Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage*, 14.

64. Hananiah Lincoln, born in 1756, was the son of Thomas Lincoln, a half-brother of John Lincoln, Abraham's father. Waldo Lincoln, *Lincoln Family*, 53.

65. Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln*, 273. By May, 1786, Hananiah had purchased 2,700 acres in Kentucky and had contracted for more. Apparently he had obtained most of the money for this land from Abraham. *Ibid.*

with Hananiah in 1786, before his marriage. Obviously, relations between Bathsheba and Hananiah were strained by the suit brought in her interest by Caldwell. The record of the settlement has not been located, but it is reasonable to assume that Bathsheba obtained possession of the house, for we know that she remained at Beech Fork until 1802 and that Hananiah's name appears on the Hardin County tax list for 1797.[66] Just when Hananiah and Sarah Lincoln left for Hardin County we do not know, but it was probably not later than the date of the Caldwell suit.

Four of the five Lincoln children were married while Bathsheba was living at Beech Fork. First was Mordecai, who married in 1792 at the age of twenty-one.[67] His bride was Mary Mudd, of the Roman Catholic faith. They were married by Father de Rohan, the only priest, Warren points out, "whom we find coming in direct contact with the Lincolns in Kentucky."[68] The Mudds were a pioneer family living in Nelson County not far from Beech Fork. Mordecai and his wife lived on a farm near his mother's home. The county tax list for 1792, dated October 18, shows Mordecai in possession of 100 acres in the newly created Washington County.[69]

Thomas, the youngest son, was not married until 1806. He resided with his mother until 1796, when he was eighteen years old. He worked for farmers in the neighborhood, probably including his brother Mordecai among others. It is also possible that Thomas learned his trade of car-

66. Hardin County tax lists, microfilm, Frankfort.

67. Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage,* 14, cites Nelson County Court, Marriage Register, 1792. This was the year that Washington County (including the Beech Fork community) was created out of parts of Nelson and Mercer counties. Collins, *History of Kentucky,* II: 26.

68. Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage,* 221.

69. Washington County tax lists, microfilm, Frankfort.

penter during these years, working in the blacksmith and carpenter shop of a neighbor, Richard Berry, Jr. This is the local tradition.[70] In 1795 Thomas served two months in the Fourth Regiment, Washington County Militia, from June 8 to August 5.[71] The militia was called out to meet an Indian menace, but it is unlikely that Thomas saw any hostile Indians. Some time in 1796, after May 11 (when his name appears on the Washington County tax list), Thomas moved to Elizabethtown, in Hardin County, where he secured work as a laborer from Samuel Haycraft.[72] He may have lived with Hananiah Lincoln, who resided near Elizabethtown.[73] In 1798 Thomas worked for his Uncle Isaac in eastern Tennessee. Isaac was a prosperous farmer on the Watauga in Carter County.[74] Unhappy over shabby treatment by his uncle and his uncle's wife Mary, Thomas soon returned to his mother's home at Beech Fork,[75] where he remained until some time late in 1802, when he again left for Hardin County,[76] which remained his home until he left Kentucky for Indiana in 1816.

On September 2, 1803, Thomas purchased a farm of 238 acres from John Tom Stater in the Mill Creek neighborhood of Hardin County, eight miles north of Elizabethtown.[77] It

70. "Lincoln Memorial Homestead State Park," (folder, n.d., n.p.)

71. Muster Roll, Washington County Militia, Durrett Coll.; printed with minor errors in Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 282-83.

72. Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage,* 352-53.

73. *Ibid.,* 283, 353.

74. *Collected Works,* IV: 61; Samuel C. Williams, *The Lincolns and Tennessee* (Harrogate, Tenn., 1942).

75. Thomas was listed in the Washington County tax list of June 29, 1799, and also on the lists of 1800, 1801 and 1802; microfilm, Frankfort.

76. In Jan., 1803, Thomas guarded a prisoner for Deputy Sheriff Charles Helm of Hardin County. His name appears on the Washington County tax list for 1803, with the notation "Gone to Hardin." Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage,* 46; microfilm, Frankfort.

77. Hardin County Court, Deed Book B, p. 253; Waldo Lincoln, *Lincoln Family,* 335; Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 289-90, gives text of deed.

was in this neighborhood that his sister Nancy Lincoln Brumfield had lived since her marriage to William Brumfield in February, 1801.

The year 1801 was a marrying year for Bathsheba's children. The license for William Brumfield to marry Nancy Lincoln was issued by the Washington County Court on February 3, 1801, after Bathsheba had signed a certificate of approval on that date. Nancy (or Nancy Ann) was twenty years old. The certificate read:

> Sir, you will please to give a license for William Brumfield to marry Ann Lincoln, my daughter, from under my hand this third day of February, 1801, Bersheba Lincoln
>
> Witnesses
> Mordecai Lincoln
> Peter Skulkee

Mordecai also served as security for Brumfield's marriage bond. The ceremony took place on February 12. William Brumfield was the son of James and Johanna Berry Brumfield, who had migrated to Kentucky from Virginia about the same time as the Lincolns.[78]

Two weeks after the marriage of Nancy Lincoln, her brother Josiah received a license to marry Catey Barlow. Josiah's marriage bond, dated February 28, 1801, bears the mark of Catey's father, Christopher Barlow, as cosigner.[79] Josiah and Catey remained in Washington County after their marriage, as did Mordecai and Mary. Both families, however, eventually left Kentucky, Josiah going to Harrison County, Indiana, not later than 1816, and Mordecai to Hancock County, Illinois, in 1829.[80]

78. *Lincoln Kinsman,* No. 41 (Nov., 1941), 4-5.

79. Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 272; Waldo Lincoln, *Lincoln Family,* 203.

80. Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 70, 79.

The third marriage in Bathsheba's family in 1801 took place in August. Ralph Crume signed his marriage bond on August 5, his intended bride being Mary Lincoln, Bathsheba's elder daughter, twenty-five years old. Following their marriage Ralph and Mary Crume moved to that part of Nelson County that later became Breckinridge County.[81]

In that year Bathsheba's family group had been reduced to herself and her youngest son Thomas, now twenty-three years old. They remained at the Beech Fork house at least thirteen months after Mary left with her new husband, for Thomas' name is on the Washington County tax list dated September 6, 1802.

When Thomas left Washington County to find employment at Elizabethtown, Bathsheba also went to Hardin County to make her home with her daughter, Nancy Brumfield, at Mill Creek, near the farm Thomas had purchased in September, 1803. Here Bathsheba lived for nearly a third of a century, until her death in 1836, at the age of ninety-four.[82] She is buried in the Mill Creek cemetery, now within the limits of the Fort Knox military reservation. Her grave is unmarked. That of her daughter Nancy Brumfield has a stone showing the date, October 9, 1845.[83]

Did Bathsheba Lincoln ever see her grandson Abraham, the future president? During the first seven years of his life, Abraham Lincoln lived not more than a dozen miles away from his grandmother, in the same county. She was sixty-seven years old at the time of his birth. It would be

81. Waldo Lincoln, *Lincoln Family,* 202; *Lincoln Kinsman,* No. 41, p. 6.

82. Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln,* 49; Waldo Lincoln, *Lincoln Family,* 199; Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage,* 16.

83. The *Louisville* (Ky.) *Times,* Feb. 12, 1955, has an account of a visit to the Mill Creek Cemetery by Oressa Teagarden. William E. Barton, *The Women Lincoln Loved* (Indianapolis, 1927), 51-59, has a short chapter on Bathsheba Lincoln.

only natural for Tom and Nancy Lincoln to visit his mother and sister, who lived so near. When the Thomas Lincoln family left Kentucky for Indiana in December, 1816, their route took them through the Mill Creek neighborhood. We can be certain that Tom paused to bid goodbye to his mother and very likely spent the night at the Brumfield home before going on. And that "Granny Basheby" looked with interest and affection at the seven-year-old with bushy black hair and friendly gray eyes who bore the name of her long-dead husband.

Since she lived until 1836, did Bathsheba have an opportunity to follow Abraham's development in Illinois? Probably not. There is no evidence that Lincoln even knew that his aged grandmother was still alive in Hardin County when he was starting his political career at New Salem. The year of her death was the year of his first re-election to the Illinois legislature and the year he applied for a license to practice law.

Bathsheba would have been pleased if she had known that her grandson was embarking on a professional career. In the direct line back to Samuel the immigrant weaver and farmer, Abraham, the son of Thomas, was the first to follow a learned profession. Weavers, blacksmiths, farmers, all were good citizens and honorable men, but none were lawyers, doctors, teachers or political leaders.

Bathsheba Herring Lincoln was a typical pioneer wife and mother. Someone has said that the frontier was great for men and dogs, but rough on women and horses. To this Bathsheba would have said Amen! But she was of tough fiber. She lived for half a century after the death of her husband, loyal to his memory and devoted to the welfare of their children.

JAY MONAGHAN

A Critical Examination Of Three Lincoln Photographs

Consultant for the Wyles Collection of Lincolniana at the University of California, Santa Barbara, Jay Monaghan is one of the country's most productive authors in the Lincoln and Civil War fields. He is currently working on a biography of George Armstrong Custer, of Little Big Horn fame, that will emphasize the General's Civil War career. Monoghan was formerly Illinois State Historian.

LINCOLN STUDENTS will forever be indebted to Frederick Hill Meserve for his album of numbered Lincoln portraits privately published in 1911 as *Photographs of Abraham Lincoln.* Here, pasted in by hand, are 100 photographs of Lincoln from 1846, when he first ran for Congress, to April 10, 1865, four days before he was shot in Ford's Theatre. In 1941 Stefan Lorant, who has done more than anyone to correct and add to this list, published *Lincoln: His Life in Photographs.* In 1957 Mr. Lorant revised his list, dropping one picture which he had previously included and adding some new ones. These three books conveniently number the pictures which they reproduce. With due appreciation for the excellence and originality of these works, I would like to suggest further corrections. Let us examine critically three of the pictures originally appearing in Meserve and see if new dates should be given them.

The first picture to be studied is the familiar "tousle-head" Lincoln, Meserve 6 (in later editions 101) and Lorant

A careful examination of this and the four following pictures of Abraham Lincoln discloses them to be the same — each carefully retouched. This is Meserve 6, Lorant 2, allegedly taken by Alexander Hesler in Chicago in 1857.

2. Both compilers date it 1857. Both also say that the photographer was Alexander Hesler of Chicago, and that Lincoln's hair was purposely mussed. Meserve states that Lincoln did the mussing himself. Lorant credits the photographer with the act. This detail seems trivial, but the date of the picture is certainly important. What are some of the facts behind it?

In the 102 years which have elapsed since this picture is supposed to have been taken, four photographers have claimed its authorship, in four different years, and in three different cities. The earliest date known to this writer is affixed to a copy in the Herbert Wells Fay Collection. That

note says that the picture was taken in 1844 in Bloomington. If this is correct, it is two years earlier than the earliest known picture of Lincoln. The usually conservative *Christian Science Monitor* accepted this Bloomington story as late as April, 1931, but no contemporary evidence for the statement has been discovered. Only a glance at the picture is necessary to determine whether the man seems to be nearer fifty than thirty-five. The late Mr. Fay always discredited this date along with another unsupported statement on a picture in his collection which gave the date as 1851. He pointed to both as examples of unreliable history.

Another copy of this picture has been dated 1855. This copy was allegedly given by Mrs. Lincoln to Mrs. Emmeline Fancher Price with the statement that it had been taken in that year. Lincoln bibliographer Daniel Fish examined this picture in 1919 and questioned its authenticity.[1] The Lincoln in this copy faced to the left, and Fish was familiar with the same picture facing to the right. As the picture under examination was a tintype, it might be a contact print taken from a plate or ambrotype, thus reversing the image.

Several others of these reverse "tousle-heads" are known and given the date 1856, but this date, like Mrs. Lincoln's 1855, has not been accepted by investigators, although it is the first of the three dates to be supported by evidence.

According to tradition in Princeton, Illinois, Lincoln attended a political rally there on July 4, 1856. Twenty-nine years later, in 1885, Mrs. A. H. Paddock, of that town, gave Robert T. Lincoln one of these reverse "tousle-head" Lincoln tintypes. With the picture she attached a note saying that Lincoln had visited her father's home during this convention. The day, she said, was very hot — men

1. *Lincoln Lore,* No. 116.

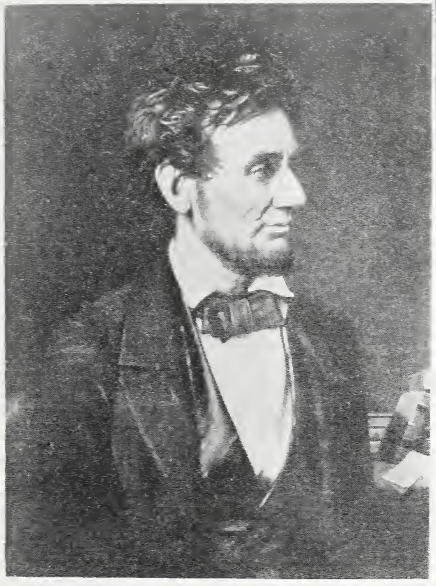
had "wilted linen and hair wet with perspiration." Her father prevailed on Lincoln to sit for his picture. Lincoln consented and went to Master's studio, where he combed his hair with his fingers. The tintype which Mrs. Paddock sent to Robert Lincoln was, she said, the picture taken by Master. Robert pronounced it "an excellent & characteristic portrait of him at that period."[2]

These statements concerning the date have elicited considerable skepticism on the part of scholars. A contemporary newspaper, the *Tiskilwa Independent* of July 11, 1856, substantiates the Paddock story by reporting the presence of Lincoln at the Princeton rally on July 4. The paper states also that Dr. S. A. Paddock was chairman of the meeting. To further bolster this side of the argument, S. P. Clark of Princeton swore to an affidavit in 1929, when he was ninety-two, that he saw Lincoln go into Master's studio back in 1856 to have the picture taken. So far so good.

Now see the other side of the question. The *Tiskilwa Independent* makes no reference to any photograph, and it is noticeable that the "Hon. A. Lincoln, of Springfield," was only one of three principal speakers. In 1856 he was not sufficiently famous to be singled out for special attention, notwithstanding the Paddock tradition and Robert Todd Lincoln's immaterial statement. This, of course, is negative evidence. But in the John Hay Memorial Library at Brown University, there are some pertinent letters on this subject. Among them is one from Dr. Frederick J. Walter, a nephew of Mrs. Paddock's, dated 1933. He states that there are four of these Paddock tintypes, and he locates them. This hurts the Paddock case, for four identical tin-

2. Robert Lincoln to Charles Peon, Esq., Feb. 4, 1889, in H. C. Shotwell Collection, Illinois State Historical Library.

This tintype of Meserve 6 was printed in reverse. Mrs. Paddock of Princeton, Illinois, gave one of these to Robert Todd Lincoln.



Retouching has added a beard to the Meserve 6. Notice that the coat and tie are unchanged.

types must be, as Daniel Fish suspected, prints from an ambrotype or a negative, and Dr. Walter does not locate the original.

Everyone who has done much historical research has learned how tricky human memory may be. As Douglas Southall Freeman said, an old soldier's recollections of a battle are the most undependable of sources. This writer remembers being shown an antique clock which, according to two affidavits by "unimpeachable witnesses," had be-

longed to Daniel Boone. Yet the maker's trademark showed it to have been manufactured after Boone's death. A similar incident occurred in the Illinois State Historical Library when a donor presented a sycamore stump to which Lincoln allegedly tied his flatboat. This apocryphal assertion was also attested to by an "unimpeachable witness." Such unimpeachable affiants are not necessarily dishonest. They are merely examples of Freeman's statement concerning human memory.

With the "tousle-head" tintype discredited as an original, let us examine the prints which face to the right. One of these was owned by Frances E. Willard, nineteenth-century temperance leader and reformer. She said that it was given to her in 1886 by Alexander Hesler, the Chicago photographer. The same picture, also facing to the right, was published in the December, 1895, *McClure's Magazine* by Ida M. Tarbell as an illustration for her serial life of Lincoln. She stated that the picture was lent to her by Herbert Wells Fay, who had learned from the photographer that the picture was taken in January or February, 1857. Mr. Fay got this information in a letter from Alexander Hesler, dated November 5, 1894. This letter, still in existence, says, in part:

> I have one original neg of Lincoln. In Feb or Jany, 1857, I made my first neg. of him. One of the Lawyers, Ballingall, -- come to my studio and asked if I would make a neg. of L — and let the Lawyers come and get prints. As many wanted them, but felt, he could not afford to buy & give them away. I said yes. in due time A tall gaunt looking man came in and said The boys at the court house wanted him to sit for his picture. "I cant see what they can want of such an homely looking face" as he had, but was willing [to] please them if I would make the sitting. His hair was plastered down smooth over his forehead. In conversing &

studying his face I found it very interesting. I run my fingers through his hair and made the neg. All who saw it were much pleased.

This seems to fix the date satisfactorily as "Feb or Jany, 1857," though this picture undoubtedly is the original from which the Paddock tintypes of 1856 were printed. The Hesler story was elaborated by a statement from Joseph Medill, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune,* who said that he and several lawyers accompanied Lincoln to Hesler's studio when the picture was taken. However, Medill gave the date as 1858 — year of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates — and he said that Lincoln mussed his own hair for the picture. This complicates the story, since Hesler's account makes no mention of Medill's presence. Moreover, it should be noted that Medill was telling this story as early as 1889 — before Hesler wrote Fay and before Ida Tarbell put it in print.[3]

Obviously the date in Medill's account is too indefinite to be readily verified. But Hesler's date of January or February, 1857, can be checked. That invaluable account of Lincoln's day-by-day activities compiled by Paul M. Angle, *Lincoln, 1854-1861,* discloses that Lincoln was in Chicago in February but not in January, 1857. This agrees with Hesler's statement. A further check, made in Andreas' *History of Chicago* (Chicago, 1884), I:455, shows a lawyer named Patrick Ballingall listed among the attorneys practicing in Chicago in the fall of 1857. He could well have been there in February. So again Hesler's story seems to be accurate. But there is a flaw in this almost perfect crime. It can be disclosed by the detective method of Sherlock Holmes's magnifying glass and by a comparison of this picture

3. "Nora Marks," *Tribune* employee, to H. C. Shotwell, Feb. 5, 1889, states that Medill told her he went to the studio with Lincoln, *ibid.*

with others in the Meserve volume. When Lincoln was in New York to deliver his Cooper Union speech on February 27, 1860, his picture was taken by Mathew B. Brady. Meserve reproduces three pictures presumably taken at this time. He numbers them 18, 19 and 20. The first of these, No. 18, listed in Lorant's 1941 edition as No. 16, can be proved spurious, and this casts the first sure doubt on Hesler's statement as well as on the genuineness of the so-called 1857 picture.

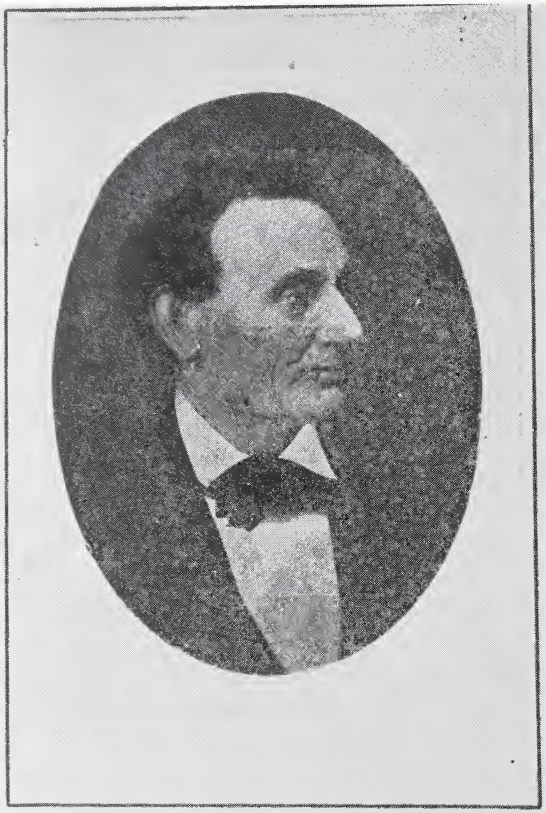
How do we know that this second picture to be examined in this study is spurious and why does that cause us to question Hesler's date of 1857? Experts on autographs say that there is no rule for detecting a clever forgery. Something about the writing looks wrong. What it is can seldom be described. The same is certainly true with photographs. Meserve 18 looks wrong. So let's try Sherlock Holmes's magnifying glass on it. Magnify it five times and something surprising will appear. Up and down and across the whole picture can be seen the telltale dots of a halftone screen, sharp as stars in the Milky Way on a frosty night. Halftoning is a process not perfected until after the Civil War. This picture, then, cannot be an original photograph. It must be a copy. The next question is, "A copy of what Lincoln photograph?"

A comparison of Lincoln's profile in this picture with the hundred pictures in the Meserve volume shows it to be identical, even to collar and tie, with the "tousle-head" Lincoln allegedly taken in 1857. The next question that arises is, "How can the same picture of Lincoln show his hair tousled in one and well-brushed in the other?" Certainly a man cannot sit for a picture and after it is taken brush or muss his hair and sit again for another in exactly

the same position. In Lincoln's day a photographer placed his subject's head in an iron brace in order to keep it from moving, but, even so, he could not place it twice so exactly that the camera would take an identical picture. It seems reasonable to suspect, then, that a clever photographer retouched one or the other of these pictures, either adding the tousled hair or washing it out. Both can be done easily, as is demonstrated by the bearded Lincoln reproduced with this article. A "tousle-head" with a completely different hair arrangement appears as the frontispiece in Ervin S. Chapman's *Latest Light on Abraham Lincoln,* showing again how easy it is to change hair arrangements in a photograph.

With the "tousle-head" and the so-called Cooper Union picture (Meserve 6 and 18) being thus proved identical, it is evident that the plate could not have been taken in 1857 and also on February 27, 1860. Which, we wonder, is correct? Investigation indicates that both may be wrong. A search has failed to reveal any publication of the "tousle-head" until after Lincoln was nominated for the presidency in May, 1860. But as early as January 17, 1860, a Chicago wood-engraver, Frank H. Brown, copyrighted an ornate border he evidently intended to use as a frame for a picture of the next presidential candidate. On May 30 he added a rough sketch of the "tousle-head" Lincoln, saying that it was from a photograph by Hesler, "Fourth Edition."

While this was transpiring in the copyright office, Lincoln's own letters contain some evidence on the date. In March he was asked for a picture and on April 7, 1860, he replied: "I have not a single one now at my control; but I think you can easily get one at New-York. While I was there I was taken to one of the places where they get up



18 ABRAHAM LINCOLN
A photograph, by M. B. Brady, New York,
February 27, 1860.

Meserve 18, allegedly taken at Cooper Union, New York, February 27, 1860. Magnified five times, it proved to be a halftone, not a photograph. And the profile, collar and tie match the "tousle-head" Lincoln.

such things, and I suppose they got my shadow, and can multiply copies indefinitely. Any of the Republican Club men there can show you the place."

Had a picture been available in Chicago, Lincoln would hardly have written this. However, on July 30 he wrote Thomas Doney of Doney & Wilcox, engravers and photographers in Elgin, that the copy of the "tousle-head" which they had sent him was excellent. "The receipt of it," he declared, "should have been acknowledged long ago."

On September 13, in reply to a letter from James F. Babcock, publisher of the *New Haven* (Conn.) *Palladium*, Lincoln said:

> The original of the picture you enclose, and which I return, was taken from life, and is, *I* think, a very true one; though my wife, and many others, do not. My impression is that their objection arises from the disordered condition of the hair. My judgment is worth nothing in these matters. If your friend could procure one of the "heads" "busts" or whatever you call it, by Volk at Chicago, I should think it the thing for him.

These three letters of April 7, July 30 and September 13 are obviously not referring to a picture taken three years earlier. The date of the picture, then, seems to have been between April 8 and May 30, which would have been "long ago" on July 30. It seems certain, too, that an artist retouched it by either adding or painting out the tousled hair. Could the "Fourth Edition" referred to by Brown mean the fourth change made in an original negative?

In searching further for a date for this made-over picture, let us examine critically another Lincoln picture (Meserve 26; Lorant 22 in 1941 edition, 20 in 1957 edition) — the third to be discussed in this article. Meserve shows four pictures of Lincoln allegedly taken by Alexander Hesler on June 3 — and therefore later than the "tousel-head" because that was copyrighted on May 30. But this makes us ask next: Can we be sure of that June 3 date? It seems to come from the Hesler letter to Mr. Fay of November 5, 1894, in which he says:

> . . . but after the nomination, I began to publish his & Douglass picture for the campaign. Douglass was dressed as for a party reception while Lincoln was in his rough every day rig. The Politicians said this would not Do. I must get a new *neg.* & have him dressed up. I wrote him to Springfield, asking for a sitting if he came to the city. he replied that his friends had decided that he

remain a Springfield during [t]he canvass, but if I would come there he would give me all the time I wished and would be "Dressed up" accordingly I went to S — and made the negs wanted — of which I printed over five Hundred Thousand, having made an arrangement to print 12 thousand an hour of Lincoln & Douglass. I still have the neg. ["copy" is added with a different pen] of Lincoln and can furnish prints at 50 cts each.

On the back of this letter is the notation: "The neg taken after the nomination was taken the Day of the Great Camanche cyclone June 1860." That windstorm, sweeping from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to near Elgin, Illinois, killing about forty persons in Camanche, occurred on June 3, 1860.[4] This seems to be the source of the June 3 date for the picture, but it should be remembered that Hesler made this statement thirty-four years after the event. He no doubt associated the picture and the cyclone, but it is probable that he first learned about the storm some time after he returned from Springfield with his "negs." This conclusion is based on the further fact that June 3 was Sunday, and as cautious a candidate as Lincoln would not likely offend his religious supporters by desecrating the Sabbath. We know that Lincoln refused to sit for Charles A. Barry — an artist who came to Springfield on Saturday, June 2, with a letter of introduction from Governor Nathaniel Banks of Massachusetts — and put off the sitting until Monday.[5]

Another statement in Hesler's letter shows that he was not remembering the facts accurately. He says that the politicians wanted a picture of Lincoln "Dressed up." What they seem to have wanted was just the reverse. They were seeking the rough-and-ready workman's vote, and the "tousle-head" picture, not a dressed-up one, was reproduced

4. *Harper's Weekly*, June 23, 1860.
5. Rufus Rockwell Wilson, *Lincoln in Portraiture* (New York, 1935), 89-90.

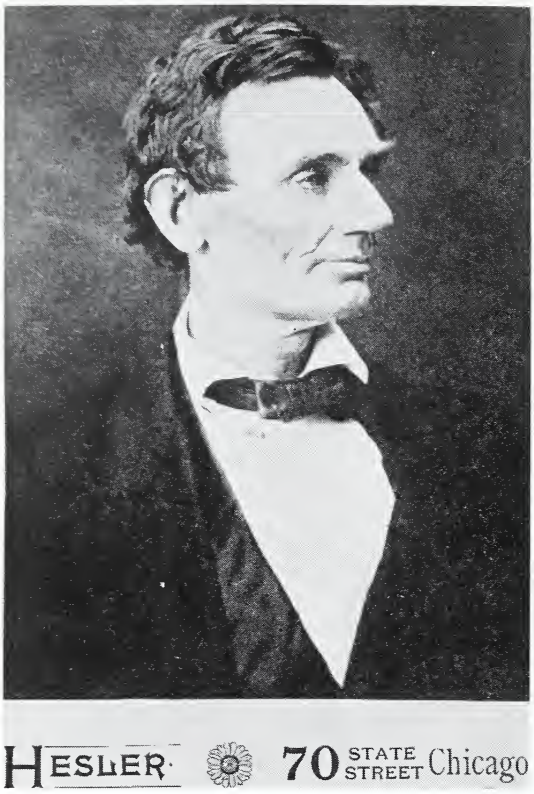
for circulation and put on campaign banners.[6] The story still persists that Lincoln, himself, said with a laugh that the picture was used in the campaign of 1860, and he heard a newsboy shout, "Picture of Abraham Lincoln — twenty-five cents. He will look better when he gets his hair cut."[7]

With the June 3 date open to question, let us examine the four pictures allegedly taken on that date. One of the four (Meserve 26, Lorant 22 or 20) is certainly suspect. Compare it with the "tousle-head." Notice the dot on the upper and lower lobe of the ear? See the highlight in the eye, the shadow from the loose skin under the chin? Could a man sit twice so that these lights and shadows would fall in exactly the same way? Professional photographers say not.

If they are correct it seems safe to conclude that the same face reproduced in the so-called 1857 and Cooper Union pictures was also used by some trickery in this picture. I have discussed this remarkable similarity with that expert photographer and Lincoln scholar Judge Benjamin DeBoice of Springfield. He suggested giving the three pictures a photographic test. With his cameras and projectors the three pictures which seemed so much alike were expanded to the same size and superimposed on a screen. Except for the collars, ties, and brushing of the hair, all were identical. This seemed to confirm our suspicions, and it may also explain Hesler's strange actions when interviewed by Herbert Wells Fay. The late Mr. Fay told this writer that he suspected some irregularities in these pictures, and when he cross-examined Hesler about the dates and circumstances, the photographer became hopelessly confused, and finally

6. Note the copy by J. H. Dille, *Lincoln Lore,* Nos. 116, 791.

7. Wilson, *Lincoln in Portraiture,* 36. Note, too, that Leonard Swett, in letter to Shotwell, Dec. 4, 1888, says that the picture was taken in the spring of 1860. Shotwell Collection.



Meserve 26, Lorant 22 in 1951 edition or 20 in 1957 edition. This very popular Lincoln picture was allegedly taken in Springfield on June 3, 1860, but it seems to be a worked-over copy of earlier photographs — the profile is the same. The hair is noticeably different from the other June 3 pictures, yet the collar and tie are the same.

sank back in his chair, pale and mentally upset. Of course this may have been due to advancing age, but it may also have been from fear that his long deception was about to be exposed. In any event this was the beginning, not the end, of odd discoveries about that "doctored" negative.

In 1866 Hesler sold his studio and plates to George B. Ayres, who moved to Buffalo in 1867, and later to Philadelphia. Ayres treasured these Lincoln negatives, and when the old Hesler studio was burned in the Chicago fire of 1871, he said how fortunate it was that these priceless pictures had been taken out of the city. He seems not to have noticed that Hesler continued to offer prints for sale.

When Ayres died his property passed to his two daughters.

The last of them, Anne Smith Ayres, passed away in 1932, and the Lincoln plates which her father had cherished were purchased from her estate by William H. Woodward of Philadelphia, who sold them to William H. Danforth, chairman of the board of Ralston Purina Company in St. Louis. Shipped to his bank by insured mail, the plates were broken on arrival. The post office was liable to the extent of about $1,000 and, to defray this, offered them for sale. The bids proved unacceptable, however, and the negatives were presented to the Smithsonian Institution, where they remain. On accepting the plates, the Institution announced: "In the course of this settlement the postal authorities made an extended investigation, which through the advice of experts established without question the authenticity of the photographic plates as originals."[8] When questioned by this writer, the head curator of the Department of Engineering and Industries, Frank A. Taylor, replied, "The Post Office Department has ruled that further information in our possession regarding this transaction is of a highly confidential nature and may not be released."[9]

The nature of this confidential information remains problematical. Did the experts disclose that, although Ayres thought he had bought the originals in 1866, the versatile and resourceful Hesler was still making prints of the picture during the 1880's and 1890's? Most certainly the postal authorities did not foresee that in another seventeen years King V. Hostick, manuscript dealer, would discover still another set of "original" negatives among the Ayres effects in Philadelphia. But which, if any of them, is really the original is still to be solved.

8. Alexander Wetmore, *Two Original Photographic Negatives of Abraham Lincoln* (Smithsonian Institution, Oct. 16, 1936), 1.

9. Taylor to author, Feb. 10, 1949.

ERNEST E. EAST

Lincoln's Russian General

Now on the staff of the Illinois State Archives, Ernest E. East previously served for twenty years in the editorial departments of Springfield and Peoria newspapers. He has written extensively for this Journal *and is the author of* Abraham Lincoln Sees Peoria, *an illustrated pamphlet which records seventeen visits Lincoln made to the Illinois River city. He was a director of the Illinois State Historical Society for fifteen years and served as its President, 1944-1945.*

JOHN BASIL TURCHIN (Ivan Vasilievitch Turchininoff, or Turchaniov), a Russian who was appointed brigadier general of United States Volunteers by President Abraham Lincoln, had a unique career in the Civil War. Turchin began as colonel of the Nineteenth Infantry Regiment, Illinois Volunteers, and his reputation as a fighting leader brought him the assignment as commander of a brigade. Then, when his men pillaged the village of Athens, Alabama, he was relieved of his command as a brigadier, ordered to return to his regiment, court-martialed and dismissed from the service.[1]

Friends came to Turchin's support and, even after charges had been filed against him, Lincoln promoted the Colonel to a brigadier generalship. Seven months later he rejoined the army, took command of a brigade, and led his troops in combat at Tullahoma, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge,

1. Civil War Records, Illinois State Archives, Springfield; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereafter cited as *Official Records*), Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. 2, and Vol. XVI, Pt. 2, *passim.*

Kenesaw Mountain and other battles on the road toward Atlanta. In July, 1864, he obtained leave on account of health, resigned and was discharged in October.[2]

Turchin was born January 30, 1822, in the Don River section of Russia. At an early age he enrolled in the cadet school at St. Petersburg and upon graduation entered the artillery service. He enlisted as a lieutenant at the military academy for officers of the general staff, was admitted to the staff service of the Imperial Guards as sub-captain and was promoted captain. He participated in the Hungarian War of 1848-1849, and in the Crimean War, 1853-1856, where he attained the rank of colonel.[3]

Little more concerning his life in his homeland was ever revealed by Turchin. He came to the United States in August, 1856, and obtained employment in the engineering department of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, of which George B. McClellan was chief engineer. At one time Turchin had his headquarters at Mattoon, Illinois.[4]

The Russian was a resident of Chicago when, on June 22, 1861, he was commissioned colonel of the Nineteenth Illinois Infantry by Governor Richard Yates. The regiment was organized at Camp Long, afterward Camp Douglas, Chicago. According to a regimental historian, Turchin paid "particular attention" to drill and discipline. He was assisted by former officers and sergeants of Elmer E. Ellsworth's Zouaves.[5]

2. Civil War Records, Ill. State Archives; Secretary of War to the Commissioner of Pensions, March 12, 1898, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

3. John B. Turchin, *Chickamauga* (Chicago, 1888), Publisher's Preface.

4. "The Story of the Illinois Central Lines during the Civil Conflict 1861-5: General John Basil Turchin and 'Nadine, His Wife,'" *Illinois Central Magazine,* Vol. III, No. 3 (Sept., 1914), 9-16.

5. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois,* II (Springfield, 1900): 118, 141-42.

The Russian commander had not been long in the field before Joseph Medill and Charles H. Ray, both editors and part owners of the *Chicago Daily Tribune,* recommended him for promotion in letters to Allen C. Fuller, Illinois adjutant general.

"In my humble judgment Colonel Turchin is the best Colonel in the Western Service, and has the best drilled regiment from Illinois," wrote Medill on November 15, 1861. "The Colonel ought to be a Brigadier General."[6]

Ray's letter bore the same date as Medill's. He wrote: "The 19th Ills., Col. Turchin, is my pet and I am exceedingly desirous that it should be placed on a footing satisfactory to its very able Colonel." Ray added that the bearer of the letter would tell what was wanted. An endorsement by the Adjutant General's office indicates that Ray, as well as Medill, recommended Turchin for a brigadier generalship.[7]

The Nineteenth Infantry left Chicago by rail on July 12, 1861, and arrived at Quincy the next day. There an order was received for the regiment to relieve the Twenty-first Illinois Infantry which was guarding the Hannibal and St. Joe Railroad. Camp Turchin, evidently named for the colonel of the Nineteenth, was established in Marion County, Missouri. There an election of officers of the Sappers and Miners, Company G, was held on July 16, 1861.[8]

The Nineteenth in the next two months guarded railroad bridges, dispersed newly formed Confederate military units, suppressed secessionists, and encouraged Unionists. This action took Turchin's men to Palmyra, Emerson, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Norfolk, Sulphur Springs, Pilot Knob, Jack-

6. Civil War Records, 19th Inf., Ill. State Archives.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*; another Camp Turchin later was established near Murfreesboro, Tenn.

son and Cape Girardeau, all in Missouri, and to Fort Holt and Elliott's Mills, Kentucky.[9]

While encamped in Kentucky, the regiment received orders to move to Washington, D.C. Proceeding to Cairo and then to Vincennes by river boat the outfit boarded two sections of a train on the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad and headed for Cincinnati. Forty-six miles east of Vincennes, on the night of September 17, 1861, the bridge over Beaver Creek collapsed, and three cars of the train plunged into the shallow stream. Twenty-four men were killed and one hundred five injured.[10]

Fires were built for light and warmth, and the dead and injured were removed from the wreck. The heaviest loss was suffered by men of Company I, whose captain, Bushrod B. Howard, of Galena, and seventeen men were among the dead. Mrs. Turchin, who accompanied the Colonel on his campaigns, tore her skirts into bandages and helped to care for the injured.

The survivors proceeded to Camp Dennison at Cincinnati, where, on September 23, Turchin reported his plight by telegraph to President Lincoln, stating:

> I have one hundred & fifty (150) men disabled by railroad accident about one hundred (100) men sick & unable for duty and five hundred (500) in the ranks. Our uniforms shirts & shoes worn out. The men not paid for two (2) months our equipments are sent from St. Louis to Washington. The regt is ordered to Louisville. I telegraphed twice to Adjt Genl and no answer which way shall we go.[11]

Lincoln referred the telegram to Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas with this endorsement: "Adjt. General,

9. *Ibid.; Ill. Central Mag.,* Sept., 1914, p. 11.

10. J. Henry Haynie, *The Nineteenth Illinois* (Chicago, 1912), 144.

11. Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

please answer this, or have it answered." Below the President's note was the endorsement of Absalom Baird, assistant adjutant general, dated September 24, 1861: "The President is respectfully informed that a telegram was sent yesterday to the officer 'to obey the orders of his General.' "

On September 25 the Nineteenth reached Louisville, Kentucky, where it came under General Robert Anderson, who soon thereafter was relieved by General William T. Sherman. Late in October the regiment moved to Elizabethtown, Kentucky, where it remained in camp for two weeks, drilling and organizing for more active duty.

Publishers of the secessionist *Elizabethtown Democrat* had abandoned their newspaper on the approach of the Union troops, and the Nineteenth, which had a number of printers and writers in its ranks, took possession of the plant. There they published a regimental organ, *The Zouave Gazette*.[12] Colonel Turchin also made other uses of the printing equipment. These included publication of a "Brigade Drill" in pamphlet form, which was distributed among officers. Other imprints gave directions for skirmishers' drill, outpost duties, bugle signals and battalion movements.

General Don Carlos Buell was in command of the Army of the Ohio to which the Nineteenth was assigned. After inspecting Turchin's regiment in maneuvers he said to the Colonel: "I have never seen a better drilled regiment than yours." In the spring of 1862 Buell assigned Turchin to command the Eighth Brigade of the Third Division, which was in charge of Brigadier General Ormsby M. Mitchel.

After the surrender of Forts Henry and Donelson, the Rebels under General Albert S. Johnston were forced to evacuate Bowling Green before the advance of Buell's army.

12. Haynie, *The Nineteenth Illinois*, 147.

The Third Division, with Turchin's brigade in the lead and the Nineteenth in the advance of the brigade, entered Bowling Green and captured large quantities of Rebel stores.

The division then pressed on to Nashville, reaching that place on March 4. General Buell, meanwhile, had moved to unite with Grant's forces at Pittsburg Landing, leaving the Third Division to protect the city. There they remained for two weeks, repairing railroad bridges between Bowling Green and Nashville. Mitchel established a supply depot at Shelbyville, Tennessee, and there organized an expedition to Huntsville, Alabama, for the purpose of seizing the Memphis and Charleston Railroad between Decatur and Bridgeport.

Fifteen letters written by Colonel Turchin to Governor Yates or to Adjutant General Fuller at Springfield are on file in the Illinois State Archives. Nearly all of them concern the commissioning of officers of the Nineteenth. A number complain that the Colonel's recommendations had been disregarded, and one, dated Elizabethtown, Kentucky, December 5, 1861, "entreats" Fuller to revoke commissions issued to two men whom he considered incompetent. An endorsement on the face of Turchin's letter, in the handwriting of Governor Yates, reads: "I will not revoke these appointments."

On the same date Turchin also made a vigorous protest to Governor Yates against commissioning the same men. Turchin wrote, in part:

> If your excellency appoints and promotes the officers and men of my Regiment without asking me about their qualifications you do injustice to me. If my recommendations are not considered worthy of notice I have nothing to do with this Regiment. Your commission[s] undermine discipline and offend the really good

officers and Sergeants. I entreat you to revoke these commissions, or I will be obliged, against my will, to leave the regiment.

Turchin, however, did not resign. In February, 1862, when in command of a brigade, he went through channels to recommend commissions for six officers. His letter on the subject was addressed to Brigadier General Mitchel, division commander, who referred the recommendations to Brigadier General Buell who, in turn, passed the communication on to Governor Yates.[13]

At that time Colonel Turchin's brigade consisted of the Nineteenth Illinois, Twenty-fourth Illinois, Thirty-seventh Indiana and Eighteenth Ohio, all infantry regiments. Present for duty were ninety-three officers and 2,253 men.[14]

In April and early May, 1862, the brigade was in action in Tennessee and Alabama, notably at Athens, Alabama. It was there that the incidents arose which led to Turchin's dismissal from the army. After the occupation of Athens, Turchin left the Eighteenth Ohio to hold the village. A sudden Confederate attack drove out the Ohio regiment. Turchin received word of the encounter and rushed back to Athens with the Nineteenth and Twenty-fourth Illinois regiments, Edgerton's Ohio battery and part of the Fourth Ohio Cavalry. They met the retreating Eighteenth, which went back with them and assisted in driving the Rebels from the village.[15]

The Yankees then proceeded to take revenge, for earlier, they charged, the Rebels had fired on Unionists from private dwellings, and citizens had joined the military in shooting down Union troops. The report of the Confederate commander indicates that Union prisoners had been shot to

13. Buell was appointed major general of volunteers, March 7, 1862.

14. *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. 2, p. 85.

15. Haynie, *The Nineteenth Illinois,* 147.

death. "Some unsoldierly things" were done by Turchin's men in retaliation, said J. Henry Haynie in his history, *The Nineteenth Illinois,* but details were omitted. Subsequent investigation by Generals Mitchel and Buell revealed that some of Turchin's men had engaged in unrestrained pillage.

Mitchel made a personal inquiry at Athens, interviewing citizens and receiving claims of losses suffered by individuals. Within a month, beginning on May 3, 1862, Mitchel issued six orders to Turchin respecting the conduct of his troops. In the first, the division commander stated:

> The utmost vigilance is required, and anything less than prudent foresight, rigid discipline, perfect order, and thorough soldiership will end in disaster.
>
> All public property captured must be placed at once in the hands of the quartermaster.

Mitchel demanded of Turchin a report on excesses, if any, committed by the Colonel's brigade. Pillaging was to be repressed. "Shave the heads of the offenders, brand them thieves and drive them out of camp," the General ordered.[16]

Word of a move by friends of Turchin to gain promotion for the Russian reached General Buell, who, on June 29, wrote Secretary of War Stanton as follows:

> If, as I hear, the promotion of Colonel Turchin is contemplated I feel it my duty to inform you that he is entirely unfit for it. I placed him in command of a brigade, and I now find it necessary to relieve him from it in consequence of his utter failure to enforce discipline and render it effective.[17]

On June 30 Mitchel, then a major general, reported to Colonel James B. Fry, chief of staff, on the pillaging of Athens:

16. *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. 2, pp. 294 ff.

17. *Ibid.,* Vol. XVI, Pt. 2, p. 71.

The pillage of the town of Athens by the troops under the command of Colonel Turchin is a matter of general notoriety. At my request a committee of citizens examined the claims of those who had suffered, and the aggregate losses sworn to exceeded $50,000. I ordered a search to be made of the knapsacks and baggage of all enlisted men in the brigade. The reports were made by the officers in form, and not a solitary article was found except what was authorized by the regulations. Colonel Turchin has always declared that he did his utmost to prevent his troops from pillaging and from every irregularity. It is certain he has been unsuccessful.[18]

Turchin was relieved of command of the Eighth Brigade and ordered to rejoin his regiment, by order of General Buell, issued at Huntsville, Alabama, on July 2. In the same order Buell enjoined troops from trespassing on the property of a Mrs. Robinson, who lived twelve miles east of Hunstville.[19]

Charges were filed against Turchin, and a general court-martial was ordered by Buell to assemble at Athens on July 7 for the trial of the Russian. The seven officers designated to form the court were six colonels and Brigadier General James A. Garfield, afterward President of the United States, who was named president.[20] Subsequently the trial was adjourned to Huntsville.

Turchin resented the treatment he was receiving and detailed some of the services rendered by his troops when he wrote to Colonel Fry from Bridgeport, Alabama, on July 5. He stated that during its service the Eighth Brigade had captured enough provisions at Bowling Green, Kentucky, to feed the entire division. His men later took Huntsville, Alabama, and 137 miles of railroad, seizing sixteen locomotives and about one hundred cars, with shops, bridges and other property, including sixty hogsheads of sugar. He estimated the value of these seizures at $2,000,000. Also taken

18. *Ibid.*, 80.
19. *Ibid.*, 92.
20. *Ibid.*, 99.

were the cotton fortifications at Decatur, Alabama, containing about 504 bales. The accused officer added:

> I was at the head of my brigade everywhere and always on duty. Neither my name nor the name of my brigade was mentioned in the official reports or dispatches. Instead of thanks I receive insults; therefore I respectfully tender my unconditional resignation as colonel of the Nineteenth Regiment Illinois Volunteers, to be accepted immdiately.[21]

But Turchin's resignation was not immediately accepted. Joseph R. Scott of Chicago, lieutenant colonel of the Nineteenth, added his protest to that of his commander. He complained: "I have seen nothing in the actions of the regiment to merit the insult of being sent to the rear in the face of the enemy." As commanding officer, Scott said, he, too, had felt "the stigma unjustly cast upon the regiment."[22]

Three charges were laid against Turchin when he faced trial on August 6, 1862: (1) neglect of duty to the prejudice of good order and military discipline; (2) conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman; (3) disobedience of orders. Twenty-one acts of pillage at Athens were listed under the first charge. It was stated that several soldiers had raped a Negro girl, and the fourth specification under Charge 3 was that Turchin had violated an order against the presence of females in camp or on the field. The Colonel admitted that he had allowed his wife to be with him, but to all other charges he pleaded not guilty.

The court found the accused guilty on six specifications of three charges. Of Charge 2 it reported:

> The court being of the opinion that the defendant is guilty of conduct unbecoming "an officer," but being unprepared to say that

21. *Ibid.*, 98.

22. *Ibid.* Records on file in the Ill. State Archives indicate that Scott was appointed to succeed Colonel Turchin, Aug. 7, 1862. He died July 8, 1863, from wounds received at Stone's River.

his conduct is unbecoming "a gentleman," find him Not Guilty of the charge as laid, but find him Guilty of conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline.

The sentence of the court was that Turchin be dismissed from the service. The record continues:

> Six members of the court have recommended the prisoner to clemency, on the ground that "the offense was committed under exciting circumstances, and was one rather of omission than of commission." The general commanding has felt constrained nevertheless to carry the sentence into effect.[23]

After Turchin's dismissal he returned to Chicago, and there, shortly afterward, a public reception was held in Bryan Hall for him and Mrs. Turchin. Many who wished to pay tribute to the Russian were unable to get into the crowded hall. "In the midst of the festivities," one veteran of the Nineteenth said, "a United States Army officer marched down the aisle to the stage and handed . . . Turchin his promotion commission as Brigadier General, sent to him direct to Chicago, at President Lincoln's request."[24] Turchin's commission was issued July 19, 1862, to date July 17.[25]

The War Committee of the Chicago Board of Trade, in a letter to Governor Yates, dated August 21, 1862, requested information on the position and actual rank of General Turchin, "as his friends are anxious to place him again in the field, if he is all right." The committee chairman, J. L. Hancock, added that Turchin would receive assistance at Chicago.[26]

Lincoln again indicated that he held a favorable opinion

23. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVI, Pt. 2, pp. 273-78; quotation from p. 277.

24. *Ill. Central Mag.*, Sept., 1914, p. 13.

25. Secretary of War to Commissioner of Pensions, March 12, 1898, National Archives.

26. Civil War Records, 19th Inf., Ill. Archives.

of the General. His endorsement appears on a letter of Governor Yates written on August 29, 1862, in support of an application of the Chicago Union Defense and War Committee in behalf of Turchin. The President passed Yates's letter on to Secretary Stanton with this notation: "With the concurrence, of the Secretary of War and Gen. Halleck, I shall be very glad for Gen. Turchin to be given a Brigade, composed as desired, if convenient, and sent where active duty is now required in Kentucky."[27]

The following March Turchin reported to General William S. Rosecrans, then commanding the Army of the Cumberland, and on April 17 he was assigned to command the Second Brigade, Second Division, Fourteenth Army Corps. He commanded four other brigades during the remainder of his service, all in the Fourteenth Army Corps. The General was granted a leave of thirty days on July 14, 1864, on a surgeon's certificate of disability. This leave was extended to August 14 to await acceptance of his resignation. He was honorably discharged on October 5, to date as of October 4, 1864.[28]

Turchin later wrote *Chickamauga,* a detailed description in 240 pages of one of the important battles of the war (Fergus, Chicago, 1888). In it he criticized Henry W. Halleck, general-in-chief of the Union armies, characterizing his superior as a "military mediocrity" (page 13).

Remembering his dismissal from the army because of pillaging committed by some of his men, the Russian condemned the "guarding-potato-patches" policy (page 11) of the early years of the war. This policy, Turchin wrote, con-

27. Endorsement dated Sept. 5, 1862; Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), V: 406.

28. Secretary of War to Commissioner of Pensions, March 12, 1898.

sisted in gently fighting the Rebels in the field and at the same time preserving their property from the uses of the army. Eventually, he added, the absurdity of such a policy was recognized, and the President put an end to it.

Mrs. Turchin appears to have been with her husband at Ringgold, Georgia, in 1864, notwithstanding Turchin's court-martial conviction on the charge of having his wife in the field in 1862. Major James Connolly of the One Hundred Twenty-third Illinois Infantry, sent a miniature picture of Mrs. Turchin in a letter to Mrs. Connolly, at Charleston, Illinois. In that letter, dated Ringgold, April 10, 1864, he mentioned a review at which Turchin and seven other generals were present:

> I must go and call on Mrs. Gen. Turchin this afternoon. She sent me word that she wants me to call and post her in regards to the "rebellion" at — [Charleston?] Illinois. She is a great politician, keeps well informed on the current events of the war, has been in the field with the Gen. now nearly three years, and utterly detests copperheads. She is fine looking, intelligent and a thoroughly womanly woman.[29]

Soon after the war Turchin undertook to give lectures on the conflict, but they did not prove financially successful. Then, for six years, he was solicitor of patents at Chicago. In the early 1870's he obtained employment as immigrant agent for the Illinois Central Railroad Company. The Turchins lived for a time in Kenwood, then a suburb of Chicago.

In 1873 the former general, in company with three associates, founded the village of Radom in Washington County, Illinois, which was established as a Polish colony. Deed records at Nashville, the county seat, indicate that Turchin

29. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXXV (1928): 321-22.

purchased eighty acres in Section 10, Du Bois Township, Washington County, in 1873. Also, with Nicholas Michalski, he purchased from the Illinois Central four parcels of forty acres each in Du Bois Township in 1873 and 1874. The consideration was $9 an acre on three tracts and $10 an acre on the fourth.[30] Turchin did not personally engage in farming, but he did employ a number of farm laborers.

Turchin was defendant in three justice-of-the-peace suits in 1878. The plaintiffs obtained judgment, and the former general appealed each case to the Circuit Court of Washington County, but he did not appear when cases were called for hearing. The appeals were dismissed and executions issued on the judgments. The sums involved in the original claims were $5.54, $3.48 and 75 cents, respectively.

Turchin, on October 19, 1898, filed a declaration for an invalid's pension, stating that he was unable to gain a livelihood by manual labor by reason of old age and disabilities incurred in the war.[31] This application was rejected. However, he was pensioned under a private pension act approved by Congress, May 22, 1900, which awarded him $50 a month.[32] Less than a year later, on April 18, 1901, he was declared insane and committed to the Southern Illinois Asylum for the Insane, now the Anna State Hospital. He died there on June 18, 1901, of senile dementia and was buried in Mound City National Cemetery with military honors.

Both the General and Mrs. Turchin are given extended notice in *Historia Parafji Sw. Michala Arch.,* a Polish-language history of Radom and its St. Michael's Church.

30. Auditor of Public Accounts, Land Records, Vol. V, Semi-annual Report of Sales, Illinois Central Railroad, Ill. Archives.

31. Civil War Records, National Archives.

32. *U.S. Statutes at Large,* XXXI: 1554.

John B. Turchin, photographed in 1867 in his brigadier general's uniform.

Turchin was not a Catholic, but many of his neighbors were. The history states that the General, when in military service, was known as the "Wild Cossack."

In his later years, Turchin was described as a man of medium size with gray hair and a full gray beard. This description was given by the Rev. Thaddeus Woloszk, a Dominican missionary priest, who was interviewed in August, 1958, at Radom, where he was temporarily assisting the Rev. John Terepka, pastor of St. Michael's Church. Father Woloszk, a native of La Salle, had gone to Radom when he was ten years old and had remained there until

he went away to school to prepare for the priesthood. He said Turchin used a cane when walking. Mrs. Turchin was lame and seldom was seen outside the house. The couple had no children.

"General Turchin was a good man, a gentleman," said eighty-year-old Michael Floryh, a native of Radom, who also was interviewed. "When I was about ten years old I carried mail for General Turchin. His house in the village was about four blocks from the post office. No, he did not go for his mail. He stayed at home and played his violin. He paid me one dollar a month for taking his mail to him." Floryh remembered that Turchin smoked cigarettes and that he carried a cane. Mrs. Turchin, he agreed, was seldom seen, and she, too, walked with a cane. The couple kept a cow, which Floryh thought was milked by Mrs. Turchin.

The widow Turchin was without substantial income, but she received support from one of the General's former business associates. She applied for a pension on June 27, 1901, giving her age as seventy-six. She stated then that her maiden name was Nadine A. Lovow and that she had married Turchin on May 10, 1856, at Cracow, Russia.[33] Her pension application was rejected, but subsequently she was granted a pension of $30 a month under a private act approved by Congress on April 11, 1902.[34] Mrs. Turchin died July 17, 1904, and was buried beside her husband in Mound City National Cemetery. Her gravestone inscription gives her birth date as November 26, 1826.

On the battlefield, Mrs. Turchin was more than the companion of her husband. In one battle when Turchin's bri-

33. Civil War Records, National Archives.

34. *U. S. Statutes at Large,* XXXII: 1330-31.

gade was falling back "she dashed to the front and rallied the men."[35]

As this account has shown, the official records provide few concrete answers to the question of the relationship between Lincoln and his Russian General. Why, for instance, did Lincoln approve a promotion for Turchin in the face of the General's continued unsoldierly conduct? Did he know Turchin well enough to have confidence in his military abilities despite the official reports? If there was an earlier acquaintance between the two men, when was it? The answers to these questions, when they are found, should make another Lincoln-Turchin story.

35. *Ill. Central Mag.*, Sept., 1914, p. 16.

R. GERALD McMURTY

Lincoln Patriotics

The Director of the Lincoln National Life Foundation of Fort Wayne, Indiana, R. Gerald McMurtry was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, as was Abraham Lincoln. He is the editor of Lincoln Lore *and the author of several books and numerous magazine articles on Lincoln and the Lincoln family. McMurtry has been appointed by Governor Harold W. Handley as a member of the Indiana Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, and by President Dwight D. Eisenhower as a member of the national Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission.*

IT WAS in 1860, during the presidential campaign when sectional feeling between the North and South was aroused by threats of war, that patriotic envelopes made their appearance in appreciable numbers. With the coming of the inevitable war, newspapers told the tragic stories of the battles and the casualties, but the sentiments and passions of the nation, both North and South, were just as often expressed on printed envelopes designed for use in the mails.

This patriotic fervor was first manifested when printers conceived the idea of envelopes bearing the American flag in red, white and blue. Undoubtedly their aim was more commercial than patriotic, but the idea spread. Other printers and publishers bent on "milking the hysteria of patriotism" followed suit. Soon the soldiers' mail and the domestic post were flooded with colorful envelopes, and post offices were made gay with colored portraits, drawings and cartoons. Some were noble in sentiment but others

were hysterical in theme. Needless to state, there was nothing official about the envelopes except for the stamp and cancellation, but they gave the appearance of being official.

Publishers ran their presses night and day to supply the demand. Elaborate advertising campaigns were initiated by stationery houses offering their products for sale, and special albums were designed for collectors of envelopes. No home owner was considered patriotic unless his mantlepiece displayed a collection of "patriotics," as they were called.

By the time the Civil War came to an end, something over 15,000 different designs had been distributed by about two hundred printers and publishers. Most of the envelopes were printed in New York City. Many were poorly designed and revealed bad workmanship, though a few were designed to appeal to the artistically inclined as well as to the emotional. A large number of the envelopes were printed from standard designs on varying grades and colors of paper stock. So many envelopes had been printed and circulated by the end of the war that philatelic collectors valued them almost entirely on the basis of their stamps and postal cancellations. Unused patriotic envelopes, after the war's hysteria passed, were not worth the paper they were printed on.

Later, when collectors discovered that Civil War patriotic envelopes did chronicle, to a certain extent, the chief events of the conflict, they sought out each species of cover, unused as well as postally used. Today collectors classify the unused "patriotic" as an "envelope" and the postally used as a "cover." Because the "covers" are exceedingly rare, most collectors today search for the "envelope."

The scope of these patriotic envelopes covers a myriad

of subjects and classifications, such as flags, shields, the Union, eagles, soldiers, battle scenes, army camps, officers, caricatures, Lincoln, Ellsworth, Davis, Douglas and Confederate topics. Envelopes classified as Lincolniana are always most intriguing to students of the Civil War period. Since they are almost one hundred years old, they are in demand by both the Lincoln collector and the philatelic specialist.

A classification of Lincoln patriotics embraces the following categories:

1. The first campaign (Lincoln and Hamlin)
2. The second campaign (Lincoln and Johnson)
3. Patriotic symbols (flags, shields, etc.)
4. Caricatures (Union)
5. Portraits (designs, facsimile signatures, etc.)
6. Groups (Lincoln and cabinet, Lincoln and generals, etc.)
7. Anti-Lincoln (Confederate caricatures)
8. Funeral (death)
9. Memorial (aftermath)
10. Miscellaneous

Perhaps a complete collection of Lincoln patriotics (unused or postally used) in all of the many variations of color, paper stock and imprints would number approximately 250 separate items. While the great majority of these would be pro-Lincoln, perhaps a dozen or more would be anti-Lincoln. Although the President had many enemies in the North, most of the anti-Lincoln sentiment was expressed by Southern publishers; envelopes describing the President as "Ape Lincoln" and "The Negro Lincoln" are found in limited numbers. One envelope displays the Confederate flag as "A Bitter Pill For Lincoln." Other slogans read: "Let Lincoln Blush For Shame," "This Glorious Flag . . .

Ten different types of patriotic envelopes issued during the Civil War period. From the collection of the Lincoln National Life Foundation.

Will Make Old Lincoln Lose His Sight," "We Laugh To Scorn The Efforts Of The Railsplitter – Death To The Vagabonds, Lincoln And Hamlin – No Quarter Given To Lincolnites," "A Sugar Plum For Lincoln And His Fellows

In Iniquity" and "Lincoln Played Out His Last Card." One Confederate patriotic makes references to "Lincolnite Tories." It is interesting to note that during the early months of the war several Northern publishing houses printed Confederate patriotic designs, along with their Union products.

The North had ample paper stock and presses, and with the country at war and Lincoln the Commander-in-chief, it would have been poor business indeed, as well as unpatriotic, to ridicule the President through the medium of the United States mail. So the presses ground out a product that was avidly desired by the public.

A study of Lincoln patriotics will show that three printers or publishers dominated the field. The name of Charles Magnus of New York City is as important in a survey of this propaganda medium as is that of Currier and Ives in the field of Civil War pictorial art. Magnus published prints, views, photocards and tokens. His volume of production was enormous, and the quality of his merchandise was excellent.

F. K. Kimmel was a competitor of Magnus'. His efforts were not as diverse and his production was more curtailed. He often copied Magnus' designs and sometimes improved on the coloring work. Kimmel's Lincoln envelopes are as eagerly sought today by collectors as those bearing a Magnus imprint. J. M. Whittmore of Boston also excelled in envelope production and perhaps turned out the most artistic designs for Lincoln's second campaign.

The best tool for the collector of Civil War patriotics is a privately printed catalogue, compiled in 1934 by Robert Laurence, titled *The George Wolcott Collection of Used Civil War Patriotic Covers.* This catalogue has a section

classified as "Lincoln," which lists eighty different Lincoln covers, with an excellent illustration of each design; a few other Lincoln covers are catalogued under other headings. Fortunately the auction prices, which run as high as $65 for a single item, are recorded.

The Wolcott catalogue describes less than a dozen Lincoln caricature envelopes, four of which have a total auction record of $234. The Lincoln National Life Foundation has approximately thirty Lincoln cartoon envelopes. Nevertheless, the number of envelope caricatures is not as great as one would expect in view of the fact that Lincoln was such a popular subject for the caricaturist. A prize collector's item today is the caricature series titled "Champion Prize Envelope — Lincoln & Davis in 5 Rounds." This series was published by J. H. Tingley, 152½ Fulton Street, New York, with the copyright held by T. S. Peirce in 1861.

The most valuable Lincoln caricature envelope is of Confederate origin. The Wolcott collection contains one of these envelopes, which is postmarked "Tuskegee, Ala. paid 5." The cover is in black and white with a Confederate flag in colors. The theme is "Our Homes" and "Protection" with an ironical note as to the cost, "Taxation $500,000,000." Only by a careful examination can the head of Lincoln be discerned. Collectors know of no other envelopes with a Lincoln cartoon which were actually used in the Confederacy, although four unused envelopes bearing the cartoon have been reported.

Lincoln's assassination and death opened up an opportunity for stationery stores to capitalize on the funeral of the Sixteenth President. About a half-dozen envelopes in somber black borders made their appearance and were widely circulated. However, while they appear in con-

siderable numbers unused, very few of those extant are postally used. The national grief which followed the President's death did not prevent one publisher from issuing a John Wilkes Booth envelope, which must have had a limited sale as only two are known to be extant.

With the end of the war the patriotic fervor was spent. The United States mail reverted to letters of a more conventional appearance. People were tired of conflict and perhaps just a little disillusioned about such glamorous trappings of war as "patriotic envelopes."

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RAYMOND N. DOOLEY

Lincoln and His Namesake Town

President of Lincoln College, Lincoln, Illinois, Raymond N. Dooley is recognized as a leader in the junior college field. He is also a trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library, a director of the Illinois State Historical Society, president of the Abraham Lincoln Heritage and a member of the Illinois Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission.

SOME TWENTY communities, hundreds of schools, thousands of streets and possibly ten thousand business enterprises bear the name Lincoln: an eloquent testimony to the admiration and affection which people all over the world bear for the Sixteenth President of the United States. Among the legion of namesake places and enterprises, the town of Lincoln, Illinois, is unique. This town, founded in August, 1853, was named in honor of Abraham Lincoln while he was still a practicing attorney, of considerable prominence in his community and state but certainly not a man with a national, much less international, reputation. All the circumstances which caused the proprietors of the Illinois community to name it "Lincoln" are not known today. However, the principal reason seems self-evident. They wanted to honor a man who had been professionally helpful and whom they had long known and admired as a friend. During the sesquicentennial anniversary year of Lincoln's birth, what facts are known concerning his relationship to his namesake town should be of interest to many.

Abraham Lincoln's association with the area that is now

Logan County, Illinois, began in 1834, when he worked there as a surveyor. That year, in co-operation with Michael Killion and Hugh Armstrong, he made a report of the survey for a road starting at Musick's Ferry (Middletown, Illinois) and proceeding by way of New Salem to Jacksonville. A second record of his work in the area is his survey of the proposed town of Albany, which was to have been located at the present site of Rocky Ford but which never materalized. These surveying activities gave him important insights into the needs of the area. As a member of the "Long Nine" in the legislature, Lincoln was an active and strong supporter of the legislation which moved the capital of the state from Vandalia to Springfield and which divided Sangamon into four counties. He was a member of the House committee on counties which, on January 16, 1839, reported the bill for "an act to establish the counties of Menard, Logan and Dane." This bill was read twice and, on a motion of John Calhoun, was referred to a select committee of five. Lincoln was also on this committee. On January 18 the select committee reported the bill back with amendments, which were adopted, and the bill was ordered to third reading. It passed the House three days later and became a law on February 15, 1839.

The first settlement in the present city of Lincoln was made in 1835 by Russell Post, a Baltimore adventurer. On a beautiful site in what is now the southwest part of the city, in approximately the center of Logan County, Post platted a town and named it for himself, Postville. Since Postville was on the direct road from St. Louis to Chicago, it became a regular stopping-place for stagecoaches and began to prosper immediately. When Logan County was organized in 1839, Postville was a town of nearly one hundred popula-

tion — at a time when Chicago was still a village — and it was logical therefore that it should be selected by the commissioners as the county seat.

It should be noted that Logan County was named not for Stephen T. Logan, Lincoln's law partner, but for Dr. John Logan, father of the future famous soldier and statesman, General John A. Logan. Dr. Logan, a Democratic member of the legislature at the time, was a very good friend of Abraham Lincoln's.

The first map of the new county was made in 1839 by I. S. Britton. It is now in the Lincoln Collection of Lincoln College. The original Postville Courthouse was completed in 1840 by Peter G. Cowardin. This two-story frame building, located on land donated by the community, served as the house of justice for Logan County until 1848, when the county seat was moved from Postville to Mt. Pulaski. As a circuit-riding attorney, Lincoln participated in numerous lawsuits in the original Postville Courthouse, and innumerable legends have arisen concerning his activities there. These legends are typical of those surrounding the figure of Abraham Lincoln: He is said to have played ball and engaged in feats of strength when court was not in session. It is alleged that here he established his reputation for honesty and first received the appellation "Honest Abe." These legends, which tell of his humor and wisdom, quite probably have some basis in fact.

The county seat remained in Mt. Pulaski until January, 1856, when it was moved back to the new town of Lincoln, where it has since remained. Abraham Lincoln had also been most active in the circuit of which Logan County was a part during the years the court was held at Mt. Pulaski.

As Abraham Lincoln was the legal and legislative god-

father of Logan County and its first county seat, Postville, he was equally the legal and legislative godfather of the town of Lincoln and was instrumental in securing the return of the county seat to that place. The reason for the establishment of the town was an economic one. In the summer of 1852, when the railroad right-of-way from Springfield to Chicago was being surveyed, it became obvious that a station would be needed at the present site of Lincoln. Three men who were interested in the railroad and its possibilities organized a venture known as the Town Site Company. The men were Virgil Hickox, of Springfield, a director of the railroad, Robert B. Latham, of Mt. Pulaski, and John D. Gillett, of Elkhart (he lived on a farm near the present town of Cornland). Gillett and Latham were extensive landowners, and Gillett, particularly, was well known as a cattle-raiser. Latham, as sheriff of Logan County, was, of course, well known in the community. Because of his finesse and political acumen, his principal responsibility in the venture was to acquire the land for the town site. Hickox was in charge of routing the new railroad and was to provide some of the capital, while Gillett was to supply the major portion of the capital. Abraham Lincoln was the attorney for the venture. As was common in transactions of this sort, much of the land for the railroad had to be secured through condemnation suits; Abraham Lincoln was the railroad attorney, and Sheriff Latham, his good friend, had to put these verdicts into force. Since Virgil Hickox was an uncle of Lemira Parke Gillett, John D. Gillett's wife, their association in a business venture was natural. In 1853 Hickox was forty-seven years old, Lincoln forty-four, Latham thirty-five and Gillett thirty-four.

The land upon which the new town was to be laid out

was owned originally by Isaac and Joseph B. Loose, who had received a government patent to the northwest quarter of Section Thirty-one, Township Twenty, Range Two West on May 21, 1839.

In February, 1853, Robert Latham journeyed to Franklin County, Pennsylvania, to purchase from Isaac Loose, who had bought his brother's interest, the land which later was to be the new town. The transaction was closed on February 3 for $1,350. That same month State Representative Colby Knapp of Middletown introduced a bill in the state legislature for a vote "for and against the removal of the seat of justice from the town of Mount Pulaski to the northwest quarter of section number thirty-one, in township number twenty, range two west." As attorney for the project, Lincoln, being well known both in Springfield and in the legislature, undoubtedly used his influence to help pass the bill which was approved February 14, 1853.

As the next step in the founding of Lincoln, Robert Latham, on April 15, 1853, deeded to the railroad a right-of-way through the town site along an area which is now known as Elm Park. On August 24, 1853, Latham also deeded one-third interests each in the town site to Gillett and Hickox, and they, in turn, gave Latham power of attorney to sell lots and lay out a town to be called Lincoln.

Legend has it that this power of attorney, the original of which is in the Lincoln Room of Lincoln College, was drawn up in Lincoln's law office in Springfield on August 24, 1853, and that the name was spontaneously decided upon by the three proprietors then and there. Latham later related that, when asked by Lincoln what the town was to be called, he impulsively said, "We thought we would name it for you, Abe." He quoted Lincoln as having replied, "I wouldn't

do that, boys. I know of nothing named Lincoln that ever amounted to very much." This story, however, must also be credited as pure legend. No matter what remarks may or may not have been exchanged at the time, proof that the name had been adopted before August 24 can be found in the August 15, 1853, *Illinois State Journal,* of Springfield, where there is an advertisement for a "great sale of lots in the town of Lincoln." (A reproduction of this ad, containing the names of Gillett, Latham and Hickox, is printed on page 13 of *The Namesake Town,* a centennial history of Lincoln, written in 1953.) Also, in the *Daily Register* (Springfield) an editorial appeared at the same time concerning the new town. At present, no printed contemporary evidence exists, to the knowledge of the author, which contradicts the following quotation appearing in *The Namesake Town:*

> Latham claimed, during his lifetime that it was his idea to name the new town for Lincoln but the Gillett family claimed it was John D. Gillett's idea. Finally a daughter of John D. Gillett, Jesse [*sic*] Dean Gillett, told James T. Hickey, that it was her mother who suggested the idea after supper one night when Latham, on his way from Mt. Pulaski to Springfield, stopped for the night at the Gillett farm. Gillett was to go with Latham to Springfield the next day on business of the new town. The subject of a name for the new town came up and Mrs. Gillett hearing the two men suggesting different Indian names to one another became disgusted with their ideas and suggested they name it for their lawyer, Lincoln.
>
> Hickox never claimed that it was his idea but since he was a warm personal friend of Douglas and head of the Democratic party in Illinois . . . one might understand his reason.
>
> It might be added that none of the papers or legal documents concerning the new town in Lincoln's handwriting has ever been found. The town was surveyed August 26, 1853 by Conaway Pence, Logan County Surveyor, and the original plat is now owned by Lincoln College.

The sale of lots took place on Saturday, August 27, 1853 as advertised in the two Springfield papers, the *Journal* and the *Register,* and the *Intelligencer,* later the *Pantagraph,* of Bloomington and the *Gazette* in Decatur. The sale was called for ten o'clock. A construction train from Springfield brought up interested persons from that town for fifty cents the round trip. The train left Springfield at seven-thirty . . . [A.M.] and returned at five in the evening.

No proof that Lincoln was present for the sale has been found other than the story of John S. Stevens as told in a letter to Lawrence B. Stringer dated, St. Louis, April 30, 1926. Stevens, who was thirteen years old at the time of the sale of the lots, says, "On this occasion there were present Thad Davis, a tavern keeper; George and James Glenn, merchants; James and Caswell Coyle and Dr. Patterson from Middletown and Henry Snyder from near Rocky Ford with a load of watermelons. From Springfield there came with Hickox and Lincoln, three men. Mr. Latham and Mr. Gillett and those residing at Postville made up the entire assembly when Mr. Lincoln, at the request of the promoter of the enterprise, christened the town site. The christening ceremony was very short. Lincoln selected a watermelon from a pile Mr. Snyder had taken from his wagon and covered with his wagon cover near a pile of lumber. We were all seated on the several lumber piles; for myself I had selected the end of a projecting board which would spring nicely with my weight and near where Mr. Lincoln stood. He opened the melon with his pocket knife, which just reached well through the rind, running all around, bumped the melon on the lumber; it opened nicely with all the core on one side. He cut out this core, squeezed the water into a tin cup saying, 'Gentlemen: I am requested by the proprietors of this town-site to christen it. I have selected the juice of a melon for that purpose, pouring it on the ground. Therefore, in your presence and hearing, I now christen this town site. Its name is "Lincoln" and soon to be named the permanent capitol of Logan County. I have also prepared a feast for the occasion.' Pulling the wagon cover from the pile of melons, he took one half of the melon he had opened for the christening, laid it on the board before me saying, 'The youngest American on the ground shall feast with me on the christening melon.' Picking up the other half he pointed to the pile and said, 'Gentlemen help yourself.' "

Two and one-half years later (January 16, 1856) the following story appeared in the *Illinois State Journal* of Springfield:

> The records of Logan county have been removed to the new county seat, Lincoln. It is thought that this will have a direct tendency to make it quite a business centre. The new court house is a very superior building, and a decided ornament to the town. The place comprises already about a thousand inhabitants, the majority of whom have made it their home within the last twelve months.

The year 1856 once more saw the emergence of Lincoln into the political arena, and from that time until his election as President, his attention was concentrated more on his political activities than on his increasing law practice. During the years from 1853 to his election in 1860, he was, however, a frequent visitor to Lincoln and is said to have visited the Robert Latham house many times. He also attended numerous sessions of the court, over one of which he presided in the absence of Judge David Davis. During this period his namesake town continued to grow rapidly, and several incidents of Lincoln's association with it are worthy of mention.

On July 29, 1857, Lincoln was in New York City on business and was approached by James Primm, a native of Lincoln, Illinois, for a loan of $200. This loan was made and secured by a note, drawn by Lincoln, which reads as follows: "New York city, July 29, 1857. Thirty days after date I promise to pay A. Lincoln $200 with interest at 10 per annum exchange on New York value received." The note was signed by Primm. As payment of the debt, he deeded a lot in Lincoln, Illinois, to Abraham Lincoln, who receipted and endorsed the note as follows: "Paid to me in full by

conveyance to me March 11, 1858 — of lot 3 of block 19 in Lincoln, Logan County, Illinois." Uncharacteristically, Lincoln failed to sign this receipt. A proper deed, however, was made out by James Primm and his wife and presented to Lincoln. The original deed and note are in the Lincoln Room of Lincoln College.

An incident connected with the lot has been told by Logan County historian Judge Lawrence B. Stringer. According to Stringer, Lewis Rosenthal, a police magistrate in the city of Lincoln, who knew Lincoln very well, said:

> In 1858, I was deputy sheriff of Logan County and the sheriff was then the collector of taxes. Mr. Lincoln came to the court house in Lincoln that year to pay his taxes. Prior to this visit, I had been living near Mr. Lincoln's lot and the lot being unused and vacant, and knowing that Mr. Lincoln would not care, I put up a small temporary shed on his lot and stabled a few extra horses there for a short time. I had never had an opportunity to tell Mr. Lincoln what I had done, not having met him. When he came to the sheriff's office to pay his taxes on the lot, he greeted me cordially, as was his usual custom, and stated the object of his visit. While I was preparing the receipt, he happened to look out of the window and discovered the shed on his lot. "Say Rosenthal," said he, "isn't that my lot over there?" I told him that "I guessed it was." "Well who put that shed up there?" inquired Mr. Lincoln. "Well," I replied, "a fellow in town here, who had some extra horses, and wanted some temporary stable room, put up that shed, but the fellow is a good friend of yours." "That's alright," said Mr. Lincoln, "but that fellow, whoever he is, ought to pay my taxes. He is getting all the benefit out of the lot and I get none." "Well," I replied, "I know that fellow, Mr. Lincoln and he won't pay a cent." "Well, who is he, anyway," said Mr. Lincoln. "If you must know, Mr. Lincoln, I'm the fellow," I replied. Lincoln looked at me a second or two, and, with a twinkle in his eye, said, "Hand over the receipt. I guess I'm in for it."

On Lincoln's death, Mary Todd Lincoln inherited the lot, and on April 18, 1874, she deeded it to her son Robert

T. Lincoln. He, in turn, deeded it to Captain David H. Harts on April 23, 1891. In 1926 the latter's son, David H. Harts, Jr., erected a two-story brick building on the lot, and the site is now identified by a bronze marker.

One might suppose that at the time of Lincoln's election and during the Civil War the town of Lincoln would have been solid in its support of the man whose name it bore. This, however, was not the case. Actually, the town was settled largely by Southerners, and many of its citizens maintained Southern sympathies even after the war began. On September 4, 1858, between the Freeport and Jonesboro debates, Douglas spoke in Lincoln. This account of the meeting by Lynn Bidler of Mt. Pulaski appeared in the *Lincoln* (Illinois) *Herald* on February 17, 1885:

> I was among the thousands who attended the great meeting in Lincoln to hear Douglas. It was a wonder and a surprise to know from whence came the throng for in those days the prairie was very sparsely settled. The committee and crowd received Douglas with open arms, as it were, a good view of which I obtained from my position in front of Stillman's Hardware store. While thus taking a survey of the surroundings, I noticed among others, a tall, lean gentleman get off the rear end of the train whom I recogized as Mr. Lincoln, having seen him before. My attention was attracted to him from the fact that while Douglas was received and cheered to the echoes, not a human shake of the hand was then and there tendered Mr. Lincoln. In a wandering and gawking manner, he slowly wended his way around the outskirts of the crowd and with a collapsed, old valise under his arm, walked toward the hotel. I have wondered, but never made inquiry, why he was thus neglected, but presumed his friends failed to meet him or did not know he was coming. That he had friends is not a question, but just then none appeared.

On November 21, 1860, at the Gulf, Mobile and Ohio depot on Broadway in Lincoln, the President-elect spoke

from the rear of a train en route to Chicago to meet his Vice-President-elect, Hannibal Hamlin. Part of his last speech made in Logan County was printed in the *New York Herald* of November 22, 1860, as follows:

Fellow Citizens: I thank you for this mark of your kindness towards me. I have been shut up in Springfield for the last few months, and therefore have been unable to greet you, as I was formerly in the habit of doing. I am passing on my way to Chicago, and am happy in doing so to be able to meet so many of my friends in Logan County, even if to do no more than exchange with you the compliments of the season, and to thank you for the many kindnesses you have manifested towards me. I am not in the habit of making speeches now, and I would therefore ask to be excused from entering upon any discussion of the political topics of the day. I am glad to see so many happy faces, and listen to so many pleasant expressions. Again thanking you for this honor, I will pass on my journey.

It may be of interest to note that Stephen A. Douglas last appeared in Lincoln when he was en route from Springfield to Chicago on April 26, 1861. At that time, he said in part:

Fellow Citizens: I have no time to make a speech, the cars won't wait. It is not necessary, I believe, for I take it that you are all a unit for the union. I have done my best to preserve peace, but now that the war is upon us, the Government must be maintained at all hazards.

While basically the town of Lincoln was loyal, it was not exactly "a unit for the union." The following news item in the *Illinois State Journal* of October 12, 1863 (discovered in 1952 by the late Illinois State Historian Dr. Harry E. Pratt) illustrates the situation:

Exciting reports reached this city Saturday afternoon [October 10] to the effect that a riot was going on at Lincoln, in Logan county — a Copperhead meeting being in progress at the time. . . . The difficulty commenced about one o'clock, by one Sparks, a

Copperhead, hurrahing for Jeff Davis and Vallandigham, when a man named Harless made at him and cut him severely. A crowd then pursued Harless, knocked him down, and beat him terribly. . . . There were eighty soldiers on down passenger train at three o'clock, who waited here thirty minutes for orders from Gov. Yates, but no order came. . . . Harless is reported killed, and Sparks lies in a very low condition.

The last association of the living Abraham Lincoln with his namesake town was in the creation, on February 6, 1865, of Lincoln University — now known as Lincoln College — which thus gained the distinction of being the only educational institution named for him during his lifetime. Evidence that Lincoln knew of the college is contained in a letter written by Robert B. Latham and recently discovered in the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection, now in the Library of Congress:

LINCOLN ILLS. MARCH 4TH, 1865

His Excellency A Lincoln
President of the United States,
Dear Sir

By request of the president of the board of trustees of Lincoln University, whose address this will accompany, I write to inform you more fully of the University and of the prosperity of our town, believing you feel a lively interest in it, on account of its being named for you before Presidential honors had any influence. Lincoln contains about twentyeight hundred inhabitants. Houses are going up almost daily, and it is expected that there will be from one to two hundred dwelling houses go up this season, mostly of a good quality, business has increased fully in proportion to the inhabitants. Our people although not very wealthy, are very enterprising, and are very anxious in fact determined to make the university a success. Messrs. Wyatt Gillett and I donated ten acres of land, that we were offered six thousand dollars for, and three thousand dollars in cash to it, several other persons one thousand each, and nearly all the citizens something. The friends of the town propose to build one wing of the building, and the church propose to endow it with $200,000.00. As soon as $100,000.00

endowment fund is raised, they [are] to go on and finish the buildings. The school to commence as soon as this wing of the building is completed and $50,000.00 endowment fund is raised.

Our greatest difficulty will be to get sufficient funds to build a house that will do justice to the name and place.

Hoping that we will have the pleasure of seeing you in our own beloved Illinois ere the summer passes,

I am Very respectfully
Your Obedient Servant
R B Latham

Abraham Lincoln's last association with his namesake town took place when his funeral train passed through early in the morning of May 3, 1865, en route from Chicago to Springfield.

The account of this event is related in Judge Stringer's history of Logan County, as follows:

The funeral car, bearing the body of Mr. Lincoln, from Washington to Springfield, passed through Logan County, on the Chicago and Alton Railroad, early on the morning of May 3, 1865. It reached Atlanta at six o'clock. Minute guns, fife and muffled drum, greeted the train, just as the sun arose in splendor over the prairie. A large number of people had assembled and portraits of Lincoln with emblems of mourning were everywhere visible. . . . The train reached Lincoln about seven o'clock, a. m. A dispatch from Lincoln to the *Chicago Tribune,* of date May 3, 1865, says: "This town was named for Abraham Lincoln, by some personal friends before he was known to fame. The depot was appropriately draped in mourning, and ladies dressed in white, trimmed with black, sang a requiem, as the train passed under a handsomely constructed arch, on each column of which was a portrait of the deceased President. The arch bore the motto, 'With malice to none, with charity for all.' The national colors were prominently displayed, and a profusion of evergreens, with black and white drapings, completed the artistic decorations." At Elkhart, a beautiful arch spanned the track, ornamented with evergreens and national flags, all draped in mourning. The arch was

surmounted by a cross, formed of evergreens and bearing the motto, "Ours the cross, thine the crown."

One subsequent event of interest in the history of the namesake town concerns the original Postville Courthouse where Lincoln practiced. After it was abandoned by the county, the building was used for many purposes until, by 1929, it had reached a state of extreme disrepair. Because of the then current agricultural depression, only a very few citizens were interested in restoring the dilapidated structure.

On Labor Day, 1929, Henry Ford came unheralded to Lincoln and proceeded to negotiate for the purchase of the courthouse with the owner, the widow of Timothy Beach. The late D. F. Nickols, a Lincoln collector and one of Logan County's leading citizens, was notified by the then mayor of Lincoln, David W. Clark, of Mr. Ford's arrival and the purpose of his visit. They were joined by Judge Stringer, and the three men proceeded to the Commercial Hotel for an interview with Mr. Ford. The townspeople, too, had heard of the famous visitor and were gathering in large numbers in the hotel lobby. Nickols told the present writer of the occasion:

> Because of the crowd in the lobby we decided to go to the parlor on the second floor. Mr. Ford led the procession by bounding up the stairs three at a time. He was then nearing seventy. Judge Stringer said, "Mr. Ford, how can you go up the stairs so rapidly at your age?" Mr. Ford replied, "I always go up the stairs that way to get my exercise." I then asked Mr. Ford, "Why not leave the Postville courthouse on its original foundation and restore it here as a museum?" Mr. Ford replied, "Oh, there will be so many more people see it when I put it in Dearborn Village." I said, "Why, Mr. Ford, Route 66 passes right by this site and a million people a year will pass here and see it and many of them will stop and enjoy this historic shrine!"

Mr. Nickols said he did not know at the time that Mr.

This photograph was taken on Labor Day, 1929, when Henry Ford visited Lincoln. Shown in front of the Commercial Hotel are, left to right: Mayor David W. Clark, D. F. Nickols, Ford and Judge Lawrence B. Stringer.

Ford had the deed in his pocket, and, he added, "Further urging on our part failed to move Ford in his decision and the Postville Courthouse was dismantled and transferred to a site in Geenfield Village. My final comment to Mr. Ford was, 'Well, now you're taking our Lincoln building away. Won't you do something for the town of Lincoln, the first one to be named in his honor?' " Mr. Nickols said Ford promised to "take the subject under advisement," which classic evasion was later oft repeated. Nickols, who was the last surviving member of that group that met in

1929, had this to say on the technique of moving the courthouse:

> It was dismantled so carefully that every item was numbered and complete charts were made so that the reconstruction could be as nearly perfect in every detail as possible. Even the plaster on the walls was pulverized and placed in numbered bags and returned to the walls of the same rooms when it was re-erected in Greenfield.

The building was constructed of hickory laths with walnut weatherboarding, and Nickols said that he estimated the purchase price Ford paid was $8,000.

At present, standing on the site of the original courthouse in Lincoln is an excellent reconstruction, which was built by the state of Illinois as a part of the city's centennial celebration in 1953. It is now a state park and is visited yearly by many thousands interested in the Lincoln story. The namesake town is currently a typical thriving midwest shoping and manufacturing center of 16,000 population. The namesake college also continues to progress. Its Lincoln Room, with thousands of items of Lincolniana, and its Museum of the Presidents attract a throng of Lincoln pilgrims each year.

JOHN J. DUFF

This Was a Lawyer

A New York lawyer for more than thirty years, John J. Duff has recently completed a full-length study of Lincoln's law career which will be published this year. The work, which Duff says "has not been written for the exclusive edification of lawyers," was undertaken to fill a vital need in the field of Lincoln literature.

ON THIS sesquicentennial of his birth, the reputation of Abraham Lincoln as an outstanding all-round lawyer looms larger than ever. "Lincoln legals" which are still coming to light, one hundred and twenty-two years after his admission to the Illinois bar, demonstrate anew the diversity of his practice, a diversity which has been vouchsafed to but few lawyers in any period, anywhere.

Even a less-than-comprehensive examination of the extant records of the cases that came to him, in Springfield and on the circuit, must create in one the overriding impression that here, indeed, was a versatile lawyer, with an awesome capacity for work. When one tries to define the dominant characteristics, as an attorney, of this prairie lawyer who rose to a position of primacy at the Illinois bar, these qualities come quickly to mind. In the United States courts, the Illinois Supreme Court and the circuit courts of the "Old Eighth," the range and variety of the lawsuits which he handled are remarkable. An important test of a good lawyer in Lincoln's day was his adaptability to all forms of litigation; there is more than enough evidence that in this respect he rated second to none.

The proper limits of this article preclude more than passing reference to the widely varied field which Lincoln covered in his twenty-three years (1837-1860) of arduous practice: appeals from justices' courts to the circuit court, from the circuit court to the State Supreme Court, appeals to the United States Supreme Court, actions in foreclosure, debt, replevin, trespass, partition, suretyship, actions for specific performance, suits over dower rights, slander and divorce actions, suits to compel stockholders to pay their assessments, personal injury actions, suits involving patent infringements, will contests, actions seeking injunctions, actions to impress mechanics liens. Even the nuances of maritime law, a dark continent to the general practitioner, were not outside his ken.[1] On the criminal side, he enjoyed a fairly substantial practice, involving crimes and offenses ranging all the way from murder down to gambling. The wide scope of his cases was symptomatic of the golden age of the general practitioner, before the decline in importance, almost to the point of extinction, of the all-round lawyer, of which Lincoln was perhaps the prime example.

However subordinate to the lure of politics may have been his early attraction to the law, there is no gainsaying the fact that Lincoln was extremely industrious at his calling. Even in its purely physical aspects, his achievement is staggering. The paper work of lawyers — preparing pleadings for court, drawing up business documents and attending to

1. On June 21, 1858, Lincoln appeared for the libellants, the Wiggins Ferry Company and John Trendly, in a salvage proceedings brought by them against the steamer *Ocean Spray*. (Suits for salvage are maintained *in rem* against the property saved, not its owner.) The U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Illinois, sitting in Springfield, found for Lincoln's clients, and ordered the vessel sold; out of the proceeds realized, the libellants were awarded one-third, or a little over $600.

correspondence — was onerous in those days, since it had to be done laboriously by pen. Considering the sheer volume of legal documents and memoranda prepared by Lincoln — some of them engrossing, some of them dull, many of them (those not taken from *Chitty on Pleadings*) marked by his distinct, tight prose — the wonder is how he found time for anything else. Herndon,[2] with whom accuracy was not always a fetish, couldn't have been wider of the mark than when he said that Lincoln did less office work than any other lawyer in Illinois.[3]

Newly unearthed documents constitute a significant increment to what has long been known of the range of Lincoln's talents as a lawyer and the informed craftsmanship which he brought to bear on whatever undertaking in the law he set about. Reading them, one need not hesitate to state that they can safely withstand the ordeal of microscopic examination by present-day lawyers. These important "finds," in the way of court papers of an official nature, in Lincoln's unmistakable handwriting (even though not bearing his name or signature), serve to place his law career in fuller focus and prove once more that the saturation point for new "Lincoln legals" has not been reached.

Lincoln is known to have sat for David Davis, as judge of the Eighth Judicial District, when the Judge was called home because of sickness or for other reasons. Though the court records designedly do not show when a lawyer re-

2. The garrulous, windy, opinionated, prodigiously indiscreet "Billy" Herndon was the last of Lincoln's three law partners. Though they were as divergent in temperament as the poles, their association continued from 1844 until the senior partner's accession to the presidency. Lincoln's other partners were John T. Stuart, one of Mrs. Lincoln's numerous cousins (1837-1841), and Stephen T. Logan (1841-1844).

3. Paul M. Angle, ed., *Herndon's Life of Lincoln* . . . (Cleveland, 1949), 252.

placed Davis,[4] the available judges' dockets reveal entries in Lincoln's hand showing that "Judge" Lincoln presided on at least seven different occasions in four different counties – Sangamon, Champaign, Logan and DeWitt.[5]

It is less generally known that, though never elected to the office, Lincoln also acted as prosecuting attorney, actually trying cases on behalf of the People, and in a number of instances drawing true bills for different state's attorneys. Our knowledge of this little explored phase of Lincoln's work as a lawyer has been enhanced by documents recently made available, which cast new light on the extent of the professional services which he rendered for the state in connection with the prosecution of criminal causes.

No evaluation of Lincoln's work as a prosecutor has yet been made. For that matter, the subject of his law career, itself, has been less than adequately explored – this despite the fact that there have been three excellent full-length studies.[6] As Dr. Harry E. Pratt, late Illinois State Historian, for whom the subject of Lincoln as a lawyer held some special fascination, once aptly observed: "Good works in their day, they are as out-of-date as are the automobiles of those years."[7]

4. Oliver L. Davis, of Danville, is known to have substituted for Davis twice, and Clifton H. Moore, of Clinton, served for him once. Harry E. Pratt, " 'Judge' Abraham Lincoln," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XLVIII (Spring, 1955): 29.

5. The original sheets from the judges' dockets in Sangamon, Logan and DeWitt counties have been transferred to the Illinois State Historical Library by the respective boards of supervisors. The Library also has photostats of forty-two pages of Judge's Docket A of Champaign County, with "Judge" Lincoln's entries in 145 cases.

6. The first, Frederick Trevor Hill's *Lincoln the Lawyer,* was published in 1906; the second, John T. Richards' *Abraham Lincoln: The Lawyer-Statesman,* in 1916, and the last, Albert A. Woldman's *Lawyer Lincoln,* in 1936.

7. Address delivered at the Legal History Breakfast of the Illinois State Bar Association, held at Rock Island, June 15, 1951, and reported in the *Illinois Bar Journal* of July, 1951, XXXIX: 627-29.

It was not uncommon in Illinois for state's attorneys to be replaced, temporarily, by outside counsel. While prosecutors on the political make were (and are) rarely beset with mistrust of their own abilities, it sometimes happened that the family of the deceased or injured person insisted upon retention of a more experienced or skillful lawyer to take the place of, or collaborate with, the regular prosecutor. A few state's attorneys, like Lincoln's friend and one-time associate, Ward Hill Lamon, a man of modest abilities whose qualities were the opposite of intellectual, were not averse, whenever confronted with a difficult case, to calling in lawyers like Lincoln and Leonard Swett, men of outstanding competence in the handling of criminal matters. (As a brief aside, it is interesting to note that Lincoln's great adversary, Stephen A. Douglas, who was elected state's attorney for the First [later Eighth] Judicial District on February 10, 1835, at the age of twenty-one, and served for two years, was never known to have stepped aside in favor of a prosecuting attorney *pro tem.*)

Sometimes the presiding judge, because of the inability of the state's attorney to serve, appointed an acting prosecutor. Such a situation arose in the trial of Henry B. Truett, acquitted on a charge of murder in Sangamon County in October, 1838, in which case Lincoln, one of the defense counsel, delivered a summation, characterized by Stephen T. Logan as "a short but strong and sensible speech," which contributed mightily to the result. (Logan, with the caution of a seasoned veteran, was loath to bestow compliments haphazardly, and folks valued his approbation the more for the Scotch thrift he showed in giving it.) The prosecutor, John D. Urquhart, having taken a dying declaration from the victim, was not only disqualified thereby from conduct-

ing the prosecution, but held in $1,000 bail as a material witness,[8] and probably obliged to pay, out of his own not-too-munificent salary, the fee of the substituted prosecutor.

The clerk's docket of Menard County shows that Lincoln and Josiah Lamborn appeared for the People in connection with the prosecution of the brothers James and George W. Denton in June, 1846, on an indictment for murder. It was charged that the defendants had killed their brother-in-law, Cassius Brown, by hacking him to death with axes.[9] When the case came up for trial in Petersburg, one of the brothers moved for a severance, and it was ordered that the defendants have separate trials. A jury was thereupon empaneled in the case of James Denton; the trial, which lasted two days (June 11, 12), ended in a hung jury.

Lincoln is credited with having prevailed upon Lamborn, who filled the office of prosecutor with much perturbation to the culprits who were tried under his direction, to drop further prosecution of the brothers, in view of the absence of eyewitnesses to the killing; apparently his suggestion was accepted, for the record shows no further proceedings to have been taken. What a considerable achievement this was on Lincoln's part may be gathered from what is known of Lamborn's obsessive zest for prosecuting, as related by a contemporary, Judge James H. Matheny: "When called to the discharge of his duties as the prosecutor of criminals his soul kindled with a strange and vengeful fire. Nothing moved him from his purpose. With the instincts of a blood hound he tracked the skulking wretch to his lair and with pitiless heart crushed the hopeless victim."[10]

8. Record D, Sangamon County Circuit Court, 1838-1839, p. 95.

9. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), Jan. 31, 1846.

10. From unidentified newspaper clipping in the Pasfield Scrapbook, Illinois State Historical Library.

Though the outcome of the trial proved inconclusive, Lincoln's connection with the case deserves attention because of the attorneys with whom it brought him in contact and opposition. In his initial appearance in the role of prosecutor, the lanky Springfield lawyer was opposed by his former law partner, Stephen T. Logan, then the acknowledged leader of the Sangamon bar. As a trial lawyer, Logan ranked with the best of his time, and his attainments as such were everywhere recognized. The only real shortcoming of this pioneer lawyer was a tendency to provocative argument with the Bench, a proneness for advancing legal and procedural points with sometimes irritating pertinacity. As Herndon put it, he was "as technical as technicality itself."[11]

As attorney general, Lamborn was ruthless, fighting always with the invective which made him the most feared prosecutor in the state. His bellicosity rubbed off in such irritating gobs that more than once his life was threatened, while he smiled in condescending disdain. He was rather convivial in his habits, and, together with some of his brethren at the bar who felt the need to curb their drinking, formed a lawyers' temperance society. Lamborn invariably reported, at its regular monthly meetings, his inability to remain abstemious.[12] That he should have availed himself of Lincoln's services was not only flattering recognition of the latter's capabilities but formidable proof of Lincoln's remarkable gift for getting along with difficult individuals, which was later to prove so helpful in dealing with certain of his recalcitrant Cabinet members.

11. Emanuel Hertz, ed., *The Hidden Lincoln: From the Letters and Papers of William H. Herndon* (New York, 1938), 430.

12. Judge Cyrus Epler, "History of the Morgan Caunty Bar," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.,* XIX (Oct., 1926–Jan., 1927): 170.

Spring of 1853 found Lincoln making the grueling semi-annual swing around the 450-mile circuit, which its travel-ingest lawyer knew from end to end. For all its rigors — food indescribably bad; nights without rest; dank, cold, often dirty quarters; and all the other wretched conditions which no lawyer in his right senses would today put up with — this picturesque institution became an inherent part of all who took the vows of circuit life, and the impressions and friendships of those years were never effaced. If the prairie in solitude is grand, human beings drawn together by a sense of their fewness in the presence of its majesty are especially warm.

The circuit court for the county of Tazewell, in which Lincoln enjoyed an extensive practice, was among the busiest on the circuit. At the May term, 1853, held in Pekin, Lincoln, while occupied with the usual miscellany of civil matters — actions in trover, conversion, ejectment, foreclosure and accounting[13] — was appointed by the court to act as special prosecutor in *People* v. *Thomas Delny,* involving a charge of rape upon a seven-year-old child. A relevant item in the study of Lincoln the all-round lawyer is the indictment in the case, which he drew and prosecuted to conviction. Bearing the signature "Lincoln, Attorney *pro tem*," it recites

that Thomas Delny, a male person above the age of fourteen years, on the seventh day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty three with force and arms, . . . in and upon Jane Ann Rupert, a female child under the age of ten years, to wit of the age of seven years, . . . feloniously did make an assault, and her the said Jane Ann Rupert, then and there feloni-

13. Benjamin P. Thomas, *Lincoln 1847-1853, Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln* . . . (Springfield, Ill., 1936), 332-33.

ously did unlawfully and carnally know; contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided.[14]

The conciseness of Lincoln's way of putting down his ideas on paper is a mark of the clarity of his thinking. As everyone knows who has ever become even superficially acquainted with Lincoln's work at the bar, it was among his virtues as a lawyer that his chief aversion was to long-windedness. The simplest words in the simplest order, and not too many of them, was his rule — this in a lawyerly age which delighted in many words for saying comparatively little. Not for Lincoln the ornate, superfluous, oftentimes sanctimonious phraseology so dear to most prosecutors of that era — a sample of which is here culled from the true bill drawn by State's Attorney Elam Rust in *People* v. *Longnecker,* at the May term, 1854, of the Piatt Circuit Court: "that David Longnecker, . . . not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved by the instigations of the Devil."[15]

Delny was sentenced to eighteen years in the penitentiary. According to the *Illinois State Register,* "A mob came very near getting possession of the base wretch and hanging him."[16]

Throughout the decade of the fifties, McLean County was regarded as a happy hunting ground for lawyers stalking the provinces in search of cases. At one point, Judge Davis, in an effort to clear the court docket, instructed the grand jury to confine its deliberations to matters of a serious nature — "something worthy of penitential honors or hempen

14. Photostat in Ill. State Hist. Lib.

15. This is the case in which Lincoln, though not representing the defendant, drew and signed, together with fourteen other members of the bar, a petition to the court praying for a *"Nolle Prossequi"* of the indictment, on the ground that there had been two trials, each resulting in a disagreement.

16. *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), May 14, 1853; Thomas, *Lincoln 1847-1853,* p. 333.

promotion – grave subjects only."[17] Arriving in Bloomington, the county seat, on about March 28, 1857, Lincoln found the town in a ferment of excitement over the approaching trial of Isaac Wyant, who had been held in custody since October, 1855, on a charge of murder.[18] Though the case originated in DeWitt County, it was transferred to McLean on a change of venue.

In the summer of 1855 Isaac Wyant and Anson Rusk engaged in a dispute over a land boundary. After strong words had been exchanged, Rusk drew a pistol and shot Wyant in the left arm, necessitating amputation of that member. The affair occurred near Clinton. Seeing Rusk in October of the same year, Wyant, overwrought by the emotional and physical strain of all that he had been through, stalked him to the county clerk's office, in Clinton, and there, in broad daylight and in the presence of witnesses, blew his victim to kingdom come with four crashing pistol shots.[19]

The defendant, who was indicted for murder, retained one of the outstanding figures of that period in Illinois law, in the person of Leonard Swett, of Bloomington, who was assisted by his law partner William W. Orme, while Lamon, for the prosecution, brought in Lincoln, Clifton H. Moore, of Clinton, and Harvey Hogg, of Bloomington – though newspaper accounts of the trial would indicate that Lincoln conducted the prosecution almost single-handedly, while Swett bore the brunt of the defense.

Among the striking personalities associated with Lincoln was Lamon ("Hill," as Lincoln always addressed him), with whom he entered into a working arrangement, re-

17. Harry E. Pratt, "Abraham Lincoln in Bloomington, Illinois," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXIX (April, 1936): 61.

18. *DeWitt Courier* (Clinton), Oct. 19, 1855.

19. *Ibid.*

stricted to practice in Danville, which lasted from 1852 to 1856, when Lamon was elected prosecuting attorney of the circuit.[20] In this swashbuckling character, Lincoln had taken unto himself a two-fisted drinker — a big, burly, outgoing man who, as befitted a Virginia gentleman, "always took them standing." With the notable exception of Lincoln and Herndon, probably no two personages more sharply contrasted than Lincoln and Lamon could have been brought together; yet the remarkable fact is that they hit if off well.

As President, Lincoln appointed Lamon marshal of the District of Columbia, and though a hostile Senate demanded his removal, Lincoln went with him right down the line, standing firmly by the man who, by the attraction of opposites, had become his trusted friend. Lamon, for his part, was utterly single-minded in his devotion to the President, whom he admired unstintingly; he it was who, armed with two pistols, two derringers, two large knives and a set of brass knuckles, accompanied the President-elect on his secret night ride from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to Washington. Though he thought less with his head than his heart, Lamon possessed, to a high degree, the indefinable quality of charm and that capacity for loyalty which forges the bonds of friendship.

Though the circuit court records of McLean County were destroyed in a courthouse fire in 1900, the newspaper files of the *Bloomington Pantagraph* (founded 1846) have furnished the writer with much information concerning Lincoln's cases there. (Despite the fact that politics was their principal concern, the values which have accrued from ex-

20. On Jan. 21, 1861, Lamon was succeeded in that office by Joseph G. ("Uncle Joe") Cannon, of Danville, whom many still living recall for his long years of congressional service. He lived far beyond the biblical threescore and ten, to die at ninety-one.

amination of the small-town newspapers of the county seat towns, in connection with the writer's study of the circuit court system in its contemporary setting, are many.) Such was the interest manifested in this sensational murder trial, which lasted six days, that the *Daily Pantagraph* gave it extensive coverage.

It was a gala occasion in Bloomington, March 30, 1857, when the trial got under way. Folks, their lives prosaic and with few recreations, came on horseback, and in buggies and wagons, from nearby towns and settlements, and from the farms on the prairies. "The Court House was constantly thronged."[21]

The *Daily Pantagraph* reported that "Hon. A. Lincoln opened for the prosecution, and a clear *prima facie* case having been made out by the witnesses, the State's evidence closed the same evening."[22] The next morning Swett, over Lincoln's objection, proceeded to establish through the testimony of neighbors that for some time prior to the trouble between Wyant and Rusk, the accused had acted in an irrational manner. The physicians who attended upon him at the time of the amputation and during the postoperative period testified that brooding over the loss of his arm had further unhinged the defendant's mind. As his final witness, Swett called the accused's sister, who testified to a predisposition toward insanity in the family, citing the case of an uncle who went queer in the head after not "getting a girl he had sparked."[23] Lincoln called sixteen witnesses in rebuttal, to combat certain features of the testimony for the defense.

The defendant was found not guilty by reason of insanity,

21. *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph,* April 6, 1857.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.,* April 10, 1857.

and on recommendation of the jury was sent to the state asylum at Jacksonville. Though the verdict went against him, Lincoln did a conscientious and eminently capable job. He made both the opening and concluding statements to the jury and, in addition to conducting most of the direct examination of the People's witnesses, bore the brunt of the cross-examination, in a complicated field, of physicians who testified to the defendant's mental condition. One who was present recalled that, on cross-examination of one of the doctors called by the defense, Lincoln observed:

> You say, doctor, that this man picks his head, and by that you infer that he is insane. Now, I sometimes pick my head, and those joking fellows at Springfield tell me that there may be a living, moving cause for it, and that the trouble isn't at all on the inside. It's only a case for fine-tooth combs.[24]

An attorney is not a ball player, to be rated by his batting average, and an appraisal of one's skill on any such basis constitutes a decidedly unsophisticated approach. Like every lawyer worth his salt, Lincoln lost his share of cases. There are those who would explain away his defeats, especially those sustained in defense of unpopular causes, such as the "Matson slave case" in Coles County, in 1847, in which Lincoln represented the slaveowner against his runaway slaves, on the ground that, having no heart for the case, he was something less than energetic in his efforts in behalf of his client. Few judgments can be more shallow. It is part of the understanding of Lincoln the lawyer to realize that, for all his strange and unaccountable ways, and despite the contrarieties of his nature, he was a man of uncompromising integrity, and nothing could be more out of keeping with his character and alien to his regard for

24. *Chicago Tribune,* June 20, 1889, from clipping in the Swett Scrapbook, 85, Ill. State Hist. Lib.

professional ethics than the thought of rendering indifferent service to a client whom he was committed to serve. If there is one indisputable fact about Lincoln's career at the bar, it is that from the moment of his retainer he played for keeps.

There have lately come to light two indictments from Vermilion County, written by Lincoln during the October term 1853, and signed by him "Swett, Atty."[25] There is no record of Leonard Swett's ever having been elected to the office of prosecuting attorney for the circuit, and so one must assume that he was serving "*pro tem.*" One true bill, involving four defendants (John Armstrong, *et al.*), charged "Riot"; the other alleged that the defendants (Jesse Morgan, *et ano.*) "set on fire a certain prairie, said prairie then and there being in the habitable parts of the state."

The confidence and respect of his colleagues is the highest compliment which can be bestowed upon a lawyer, and in Lincoln's case it was abundantly evidenced by the fact that a substantial part of his practice came from attorneys in other towns who retained him to handle matters for them in Springfield or, on the circuit, enlisted his services as co-counsel. Even though he may not have been the most consistently winning practitioner on the Eighth Judicial Circuit, Lincoln was among the two or three most sought after by the various resident attorneys, a glowing testament to the high esteem in which this "lawyer's lawyer" was held by those best qualified to judge.

It says a great deal for his ability as a draftsman of those important papers which form the starting point and foundation of any action or prosecution that that colossus of the criminal courts, otherwise known as Leonard Swett, should

25. Photostats in Ill. State Hist. Lib.

have called upon Lincoln to draw his indictments for him. One of the towering legal figures of his period, Swett was connected with some of the most important litigation of his day. In both civil and criminal cases his record of success gave him immense prestige; as twilight fell on a career of distinction, it was this prestige that caused him to be employed, on behalf of the defendants, in the Haymarket cases when they were carried before the Supreme Court.

There has recently been located, in Vermilion County, an indictment in the case of *People* v. *John Griffith,* drawn in Lincoln's hand except for the signature "Ward H. Lamon Pros. Atty P.T.," and charging the defendant with having altered an article of agreement, "with intent to defraud." The cover portion, apparently endorsed by the clerk, shows that the paper was filed October 29, 1855. Also filed at the October term, 1855, and lately discovered in Danville, county seat of Vermilion, is an indictment in the case of *People* v. *Stephen Griffith,* drawn in its entirety by Lincoln, including the signature "Lamon, Atty. *pro tem*"; it charges the defendant with having unlawfully obstructed a road "so as to, then and there, render said public road inconvenient and dangerous to pass."[26]

From another source comes additional proof of Lamon's reliance on Lincoln in the matter of drawing up true bills. An assault indictment in the case of David S. Tucker, also in Vermilion, is dated May 26, 1856, and is drawn and signed by Lincoln for Lamon.[27] Not the least interesting feature of this document is the fact that it shows Lincoln following his own prescription in the matter of pleading.

26. *Ibid.*

27. This document, in the possession of King V. Hostick, of Springfield, Ill., was placed by him at the disposal of the writer.

In a letter to Usher F. Linder,[28] prominent Charleston, Illinois, attorney, who served with him in the legislature, Lincoln wrote: "In law it is good policy to never *plead* what you *need* not, lest you oblige yourself to *prove* what you *can* not."[29] In preparing the indictment, Lincoln had set forth that the assault was committed in the presence of witnesses; on reading it over, he apparently had misgivings about pleading what he "need not" and drew a line through the allegation.

While Lincoln was in Chicago in the spring of 1860, in connection with the "Sandbar Case," (more correctly known as *Johnston* v. *Jones and Marsh*),[30] he received a letter from Lamon in which the latter expressed his concern over a motion being made to quash an indictment which Lincoln had drawn for him.[31] The defendant was charged with having sent a threatening letter, and the basis for the motion to dismiss was the fact that the letter had not been set forth verbatim in the indictment. Lamon wished Lincoln to find authority to defeat the motion, since "quashing an Indct. written by a prominent candidate for the Presidency of the U.S. by a *little court* like Col. [David] Davis' will not sound well in history."[32]

28. Linder, who aspired to be the Boswell of Illinois lawyers, spent his declining years writing his *Reminiscences,* a sprightly collection of character sketches of coeval figures of the Illinois bench and bar. Like his eighteenth-century counterpart, he loved conviviality, sharing with Herndon, Lamon and others of the early Illinois bar a deep appreciation of bourbon.

29. Lincoln to Linder, Feb. 20, 1848; Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), I: 453.

30. The case involved the question of ownership of a valuable tract of alluvial land created by sand being washed in from Lake Michigan at the mouth of the Chicago River. On April 4, 1860, Lincoln and attorneys associated with him won a verdict for the defendants.

31. The name of the defendant nowhere appears in the correspondence between the two.

32. Lamon to Lincoln, March 26, 1860, The Robert Todd Lincoln Col-

Something of Lincoln's modesty and his readiness to frankly concede his fallibilities (even though, in reality, the indictment was properly drawn) may be glimpsed in his answer to Lamon, sent from Chicago, March 28, 1860:

HON: W. H. LAMON.

MY DEAR SIR: Yours about motion to quash an indictment, was received yesterday. I think I had no authority but the Statute when I wrote the Indictment. In fact, I remember but little about it. I think yet there is no necessity for setting out the letter in *haec verba*. Our Statute, as I think, relaxes the high degree of technical certainty formerly required.

I am so busy with our case on trial here, that I can not examine authorities near as fully as you can there.

If, after all, the indictment shall be quashed, it will only prove that my *forte* is as a Statesman, rather than as a Prossecutor [*sic*].

Yours as ever

A. LINCOLN.[33]

Lamon's aversion to paper work might charitably be ascribed to the distracting sounds of brawling and merriment coming from the saloon directly beneath his office in the Barnum Building in Danville; a more likely explanation lies in the fact that he was not overly given to cerebration.

It seems not improbable to think that there were indictments in Vermilion and other counties, in addition to those mentioned, which were drawn by Lincoln at the request of the regularly elected state's attorneys. After Lincoln's death, court clerks and others having access to official records developed taking ways, and many a court paper, even complete files of cases in which Lincoln participated, received the "basement door treatment." Historians and researchers, in their unceasing quest for Lincoln source material, con-

lection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

33. *Collected Works,* IV: 34-35.

tinue to turn up new documents in his handwriting,[34] sometimes in the most improbable places. One might justly assume, therefore, that not all the returns are in on Lincoln as prosecuting attorney.

His work on behalf of the prosecution apart, it is fitting to note, on this sesquicentennial occasion, that at the time of his accession to the presidency Lincoln stood at the very forefront of the Illinois bar. No one can go over the record of his cases, most particularly those in the Illinois Supreme Court, where he had his greatest impact as a lawyer, without arriving at a very high opinion of Lincoln's legal ability. It would not be rash to claim for him that, in exploring areas that the Illinois courts had not yet clearly delineated, he hacked out important precedents in the law of that state and, more than any other Illinois lawyer of his generation, made a real contribution to law that governs today.

Nor did his achievements as a lawyer owe anything to contrasted mediocrity, for while the Lincoln of the fifties was a legal star of the first magnitude, such was the caliber of the Illinois bar of those days that he was only one of a constellation.

As new documents keep coming to light and fresh clues are unearthed, there is ample warrant for the view that Abraham Lincoln the lawyer stands merely at the beginning of his enduring fame.

34. Since publication of the *Collected Works* by the Abraham Lincoln Association in 1953, about 200 new Lincoln papers have been located.

ROBERT L. KINCAID

Lincoln Allegiance In the Southern Appalachians

In addition to being an educator, President-emeritus Robert L. Kincaid of Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, has also been a neswpaper editor. He is the author of Joshua Fry Speed, Lincoln's Most Intimate Friend *and* The Wilderness Road, *plus numerous magazine articles.*

THE PRINCIPAL political issue which faced Abraham Lincoln when he became President has forever been resolved. The Union of states, "one and inseparable," has moved steadily toward its destiny of world leadership. Lincoln, elected by a minority vote and unaccepted by the people of twelve seceding Southern states, has long been accorded a supreme place in history. His name has become a symbol of hope and inspiration for all mankind. His credo of liberty and individual opportunity is spoken in every tongue. What he lived for, what he accomplished, what he left to the world, have become the heritage of all peoples.

In the South, where Lincoln was assailed with violent prejudice and bitterness during the Civil War, there is now no general hate of his name. Time and understanding have mellowed the opinions of the people. The tragedy of the '60's is remembered less as a righteous crusade for political self-determination, and more as an epic struggle of a

brave people who supported their beliefs by bullets and bayonets. Only one logical result of the conflict is still unresolved: The political and sociological problems which the reunited nation faced in absorbing the Negro population on a basis of equality before the law are still the subject of debate and controversy.

Lincoln had no nation-wide mandate to support his constitutional position when he was elected. He had virtually no popular support in the South, but he was gratified that the Constitutional Union Party, headed by John Bell of Tennessee, had carried Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia. He early sought to strengthen his administration by this evidence in the South of loyalty to the Union.

It was to these loyal groups he turned to halt the break-up of the Union, after a fruitless appeal in his first inaugural address to his "dissatisfied fellow countrymen." He had asked that "no precipitate action" be taken to settle the constitutional questions involved. "In *your* hands," he had said, "and not in *mine,* is the momentous issue of civil war. . . . You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors." His plea was for time and calmness to adjust the differences which had caused the states to adopt ordinances of secession. As his appeal went unheeded and the Southern states hurried in their preparations for a new government, Lincoln considered what might be salvaged in the incipient rebellion by enlisting the support of those who professed loyalty to the Union.

Lincoln realized that the revolt should be confined to as small an area as possible. He at once began delicate negotiations with the border states to hold them in line. For two years this was a major endeavor. By astute diplomacy he restricted the rebellion to the states generally classified as

members of the "Cotton Kingdom" and thereby enhanced the chances for ultimate victory.

In the broad Appalachian belt reaching southwestward from West Virginia across eastern Kentucky and Tennessee into the Carolinas, Georgia and northern Alabama, the Confederacy had its most vocal and dangerous opposition. Early in the war the mountain counties of Virginia set up a state of their own. Weakened by Unionist activities in a large segment of eastern counties, Kentucky tried to maintain a position of neutrality, but, hopelessly split, it became a battleground for opposing forces.

East Tennessee was the most vulnerable break in the Southern shield. In this area Unionists outnumbered Confederate sympathizers three to one. At first the East Tennessans tried to follow the example of the West Virginians in establishing their own state, but that effort failed. So strong was Union sentiment, however, that the military strategy of the leaders in Washington was greatly influenced by it. Confederate forces swept into the area early in the war to quell "the rebellion within the rebellion," and Lincoln urged Union commanders to hurry an army from Kentucky through Cumberland Gap to free the East Tennesseeans and divide the Confederate States into two isolated parts.

This admirable strategy of divide and conquer never quite worked out. Futile and indecisive efforts, first by Sherman, then by Rosecrans, were made to take an army through the mountain passes on the borders of Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia, to occupy East Tennessee and to seize the railroad between Knoxville and Bristol — an east-west supply line of major importance for the Confederates. It was later left to Grant, moving up the Cumberland and

Tennessee rivers, to prepare the way for the ultimate relief of East Tennessee by Burnside in 1863 and to clear the Mississippi so that it could "run unvexed to the sea." Until the end of the war East Tennessee continued to be harassed and ravaged by contending military forces and uncontrolled partisan bands.

The failure to make the most of this great island of loyalty in the heart of the South prolonged the war. Had Lincoln's plans been prosecuted vigorously by his military commanders in Kentucky, as he had urged from the beginning, the revolt could have been more easily subdued. Admittedly, the overland route from Kentucky into East Tennessee along the old Wilderness Road, and then into northern Georgia and western Carolina, was difficult. But the transportation of armies and the maintenance of supply lines would have been through a friendly region, where the people were militantly loyal and waited expectantly for the coming of the Stars and Stripes. As it was, many thousands of mountaineers slipped away from their homes at night and escaped through the mountain passes to join the Union forces gathering at recruiting points in Kentucky. Fighting with units in distant areas, they pleaded time and again for the chance to return with an army to free their homeland. The significance of their contribution in the war has never been fully evaluated.

Abraham Lincoln had a natural affection for these people. Although he was born on a Kentucky frontier beyond the rim of the Appalachians, he was of their stock and background. He never traveled the Wilderness Road, over which his grandfather and father had come from the great Valley of Virginia, and never visited the southern area which had been settled by the pioneers who swarmed across

the mountains in the migration days. He became a product of the new Middle West, but he spoke a language and voiced a political philosophy which the mountain people understood and supported.

Lincoln knew this when he went to Washington to assume the presidency. Soon after his arrival, as President-elect he met at a reception the delegates to the abortive Peace Convention which had been called in an effort to work out a peaceable solution of the problems facing the nation. One by one, Lincoln shook hands with the delegates as they were presented to him. Then Felix K. Zollicoffer of Tennessee was introduced. Zollicoffer had been a congressman from Tennessee from 1853 to 1859. A former Whig and a newspaperman of Swiss extraction, he was almost as tall as Lincoln. His thin, dark face was accentuated by his trimly cut mustache and narrow beard. Lincoln's somber face broke into a warm smile as he took Zollicoffer's hand and asked: "Does liberty still thrive in the mountains of Tennessee?"[1]

There is no record of what Zollicoffer said in reply. But he must have understood the significance of the question and could only have replied in the affirmative. He knew Lincoln was thinking of the western men who fought at King's Mountain; of the frontiersmen who had turned back the northern Indians and extended the western boundaries during the Revolution; of the Tennesseeans and Kentuckians who fought with Jackson at New Orleans; of the Bowies and Crocketts who died at the Alamo; of the restless, westward-moving pioneers who had built a nation from the wilderness. He knew also that Lincoln must be re-

1. L. E. Chittenden, *Recollections of President Lincoln and His Administration* (New York, 1891), 72.

membering the speech in the Senate of Andrew Johnson, Democratic senator from Tennessee, on December 19, 1860, in which he made a moving and unexpected declaration of loyalty to the Union: "Let us stand by the Constitution; and in preserving the Constitution we shall save the Union; and in saving the Union, we save this, the greatest Government on earth."[2]

In asking his question of Zollicoffer, Lincoln was perhaps contrasting in his mind the attitude of the hill people with that of the planter aristocracy which had flowered into greatness and now constituted the strength and power of the states withdrawing from the Union. He knew that the Southern people had the same ancestral roots but that economic and political conditions had created opposing loyalties and philosophies. The hill folk by choice and circumstance had populated the fastnesses of the Appalachians where the soil was thin and unproductive. Slavery in this area had never been widespread or popular because it was not economically profitable. As a result, the people had developed an individuality and a spirit of independence which set them apart.

Lincoln also recognized that by heritage they were inherently loyal. They were made of proud and sturdy stuff. Their forefathers had fled from oppressions and tyrannies of the Old World to seek freedom and opportunity in a new land. They were of English, Scotch-Irish, German and French Huguenot descent and welcomed the independence they found in the rugged hills of the frontier. Inured to hardship and toughened by struggles to build their homes, rear their families and conquer the wilderness, they loved the

2. *The Constitutionality and Rightfulness of Secession; Speech of Hon. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, in the Senate of the United States, on Tuesday and Wednesday, December 18 and 19, 1860* (n.p., 1860), 23.

hills and streams of the forests. They were proud, independent, self-sufficient and patriotic. They might not have the luxuries of their wealthier neighbors on plantations, but they were happy, carefree and freedom-loving people.

And they loved the Union. The old flag was more than a symbol to them. They had fought for it in every war, and they could not understand why it should be supplanted by another. At the beginning of the Civil War, Lincoln was but a name to them, but it was not long until the rail splitter and frontiersman became their ideal. They were ready to respond to his call to arms. Contemptuously labeled by Confederate leaders as "Lincoln men," they accepted the opprobrium with patriotic pride.

The comment made by a Confederate major in 1862 about the mountain loyalists may not have reflected the general views of the Southern leaders, but in the bitterness of the war it was typical. When Kirby Smith was leading a Confederate force from eastern Tennessee through eastern Kentucky to join Bragg before the Battle of Perryville, a member of his staff, Major Paul F. Hammond, was annoyed by the hostility and belligerence of the natives along the way. Writing about the march, he said:

> We had now marched nearly one hundred miles into Kentucky, and met not one man who sympathised with the Confederate cause. . . . A distinct people . . . are to be found among the mountains. . . . They are fiercely and blindly devoted to the Union, and, being under the operation of universal suffrage, the peers at the ballot-box, of the highest in the land, give preponderance to the Northern party. It will be impossible ever to overcome their prejudices; and should Kentucky ultimately come with the South, great dissatisfaction will not cease to exist among these people until the present generation at least has passed away.[3]

3. Paul F. Hammond's "Notes" on the Kentucky campaign of E. Kirby Smith, in *Southern Historical Society Papers,* IX (1881): 249, 461-62.

Grant understandably felt differently when he made his inspection trip of the Wilderness Road through Cumberland Gap in early January, 1864. He wrote in his memoirs: "I found a great many people at home along that route, both in Tennessee and Kentucky, and, almost universally, intensely loyal."[4]

Lincoln had good reason to be grateful for this intense partisanship and to try to utilize it in the prosecution of the war. The distresses and sufferings of the loyalists within the Confederate lines were constantly on his burdened heart. He had been prevented from sending them the military relief he so urgently desired in the early days of the war, but he never forgot them. He spoke about it in September, 1863, to General O. O. Howard, commander of the Eleventh Army Corps, whom he had called to his office for a briefing before the transfer of the corps to Grant's army at Chattanooga.

General Howard often recalled that interview with the President because it was the last time he was to see him. Lincoln showed Howard a map of the southern sector, discussed the military movements, and pointed to Cumberland Gap. He asked if Howard could not take his army through the Gap and proceed to Knoxville for the relief of Burnside, who was then hard-pressed by Longstreet. Speaking of the people, he said: "They are loyal there, they are loyal!" Howard noted a peculiar tenderness in Lincoln's eyes as he pondered the future:

> General, if you come out of this horror and misery alive, and I pray God that you may, I want you to do something for those mountain people who have been shut out of the world all these years. I know them. If I live I will do all I can to aid, and be-

4. U. S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs* (New York, 1885-1886), II: 102.

tween us perhaps we can do the justice they deserve. Please remember this, and if God is good to us we may be able to speak of this later.[5]

If Lincoln was virtually unknown in the mountains when he came to the presidency, he was the idol of the hill people at the close of the war. Of all the memorial services held throughout the United States after the assassination, none was more fitting and sincere than the one in Barbourville, Kentucky, on Monday, April 17, 1865. This little mountain town, the seat of government of Knox County, had been many times in the path of Union and Confederate troops marching up and down the Wilderness Road during the course of the war. Major Hammond, who had written so disparagingly of the Kentuckians, had tramped through its narrow streets with Kirby Smith's invading army in the summer of 1862. It was in this town, nestling on the banks of the upper Cumberland River, that he had received some of his impressions of the hostile people whom he rated little removed from savages. If he had been present at the hurriedly called memorial service for Lincoln, he would have heard one of the "peers at the ballot-box, of the highest in the land" deliver an address which equaled in brilliance and eloquence anything that a Toombs or a Stephens could have uttered.

It was court day in Barbourville. The town was filled with the usual crowd coming in from the hills and hollows for a court session. They were typical of any aggregation in the remote mountain counties — farmers, hunters, timbermen and moonshiners. They always turned out for court day. They lounged about in their jeans, whittling, chewing tobacco, swapping yarns, gossiping about their

5. *The New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser,* Oct. 27, 1909.

neighbors, and giving the latest news about their sons, brothers and relatives away in the military service, whether Union or Confederate. Some were members of home guard units, some had been on expeditions with raiding bushwhackers. In general, the crowd was violently partisan to the Union. This time there was rejoicing because the war was over at last.

After the court session had begun, the news of Lincoln's assassination was ticked out over the single telegraph wire coming into the town, installed previously for military purposes. The news was relayed to the presiding judge, who immediately adjourned the session and requested the sheriff to go outside and ask the people to come inside "for an important announcement." Soon the courtroom was jammed with people.

It was David Y. Lyttle who was selected to inform the people of Lincoln's death. Lyttle was a leading attorney of Manchester, the seat of neighboring Clay County. He was forty-three years old, heavily bearded and mustached, and his shocky black hair reached down over his ears. Coming from a sparsely settled county deep in the recesses of the Kentucky hills, he was of the pioneer stock who had followed Boone into the mountains. He would have made a worthy companion of Lincoln on the Eighth Judicial Circuit of Illinois.

Lyttle spoke extemporaneously and later wrote out the substance of his remarks for the record. He began:

> I appear before you this morning to make to you in a formal manner the awful announcement that the President of the United States has been assassinated, and that his lifeless remains now lie pale in death — not at the base of a statue but in the Capitol of a people determined to maintain their national life and the integrity

of the Union — not muffled in a cloak, but wrapped in the flag of his country.

Lyttle had undoubtedly followed closely the President's plans for the reconstruction of the South, because he spoke of "rebellion's folly" in the assassination of Lincoln, "whose heart was throbbing with anxiety for the moment to arrive when he could safely astonish the world by his clemency, and guild the Southern sky with an unfading bow of hope." Deploring the fact that the American people had only learned of Lincoln's goodness during "the fiery ordeal through which he has been called to pass," Lyttle continued:

> If it had been known . . . that he with glad heart, where he could safely do so, rejoice the Family Circle by returning the rebel son, causing the father and mother to exclaim, "this our son was dead and is alive, was lost and is found," and that he could conduct the American nation from the bondage of Civil War to the heights that overlook the promised land of Peace and Union, his pathway to Washington City would have been strewn with flowers instead of daggers, and the nation would have been saved from this calamity and disgrace, and your little city this day instead of being covered with the weeds of mourning and woe would have been lighted with the bonfires of rejoicing.[6]

The audience listened in somber silence as Lyttle pronounced his eulogy. The lined, weathered faces of the mountain men were strained in grief, and many wept. After Lyttle closed, other speakers followed. Resolutions were adopted expressing horror at "the irreparable loss" in the assassination of the President and pledging to "stand by those upon whom this sad misfortune shall throw the administrative responsibilities of this government, and through whatever trials we may be called upon to pass we are resolved never to despair of the Republic's forefathers."

6. Knox County, Ky., Circuit Court Records, April 17, 1865.

This service, held immediately after Lincoln's death, reflected the universal sorrow of all who had remained loyal to the Union. Lyttle eloquently gave voice to what was in the hearts of the people and accurately forecast the place Lincoln would occupy in history.

What happened at Barbourville, Kentucky, on that bleak Monday morning in April, 1865, was a portent of a growing Lincoln tradition and heritage throughout the Southern mountains. In the postwar period, while the nation was recovering from the disunities and tragedies of the conflict, the mountain region was spared the horrors of reconstruction. Only in the outbreak of some family feuds brought on by the divisions and bitterness of the war did the region suffer after the conflict. With each succeeding decade the scars of the tragedy were gradually obliterated.[7]

The heritage of Lincoln in the mountains has perhaps found its greatest fulfillment in an educational institution which bears his name. Lincoln Memorial University at Harrogate, Tennessee, south of the historic pass made famous by Daniel Boone, is a fitting living memorial to his memory. It was established in the mountain heartland of the South as a direct result of Lincoln's natural affinity for the people and his appreciation of their worth. In the words of its charter, the school was pledged "to provide education for the children of the humble, common people of America among whom Lincoln was born."

General Howard long remembered Lincoln's words of 1863, when he had spoken so affectionately of the people in eastern Tennessee, southeastern Kentucky and southwestern Virginia. However, it was not until after his retirement that

7. The mountain congressional districts of Kentucky and Tennessee bordering at Cumberland Gap have always been represented by Republican congressmen.

Howard could undertake the commission which he felt had been given him when Lincoln said, "I want you to do something for those mountain people." For four years immediately after the war, he had been busy in the rehabilitation of four million freedmen. Then he was assigned to military duty in the West, had taken part in a number of Indian campaigns, had mollified the raiding Apache chief Cochise and had chased the rebellious Nez Percé Indians, led by Chief Joseph, during their memorable revolt.

Free to write and speak after his retirement, he found his way to Cumberland Gap in the summer of 1896, where he was to meet a Congregational minister, the Rev. A. A. Myers, who had started a little institution called "Harrow School" for the one of the same name in England.

Howard came by train to the new town of Middlesboro in the Yellow Creek Valley of Kentucky and rode in a buggy across Cumberland Mountain to the south side in Tennessee, where the school was located. He was traveling the old, worn, difficult Wilderness Road, which Grant had inspected in 1864 and over which contending armies had often passed. The mountain was still scarred with the remains of trenches and fortifications of Union and Confederate forces. It was Howard's first visit to the site, although Lincoln had suggested that he might take that route when he joined Grant at Chattanooga. Grant ordered that another and quicker route be used.

Howard gave his prepared address, "Grant at Chattanooga," at the session of students Myers had assembled to hear the distinguished one-armed Union general. After the service was over, he talked with Myers and two other gentlemen who had come for a visit, the Rev. Frederick B. Avery, an Episcopal minister of Cleveland, Ohio, and Dar-

win R. James, a congressman from New York City. Fresh in Howard's mind were the words of President Lincoln during their last interview. He told the story to Myers, Avery and James, and said that if they would make the Harrow School "a larger enterprise" as a memorial to Lincoln, he would "take hold and help." His offer was jubilantly accepted, and a covenant was made to carry out the proposal.

Myers and some local citizens drafted a charter for "the larger enterprise," and on February 12, 1897, signed the articles officially establishing "Lincoln Memorial University." General Howard's name was not on the document because he was back at his home in Burlington, Vermont, after concluding his lecture tour. However, he and his booking agent, Cyrus E. Kehr, a patent attorney of Chicago, had kept in touch with Myers in making plans. At an early meeting of the board of trustees, blue and gray were adopted as the college colors, and a college flag was authorized, consisting of a golden "L" in a field of white bordered by blue and gray, with the "L" standing for "Lincoln, Love, Loyalty, Liberty and Labor."

In forming the board of trustees, the incorporators included a Confederate veteran in the community, Captain Robert F. Patterson, who had surrendered with Lee at Appomattox and who had graduated in law at Washington College while his revered commander-in-chief was president there. Howard soon became president of the board and Captain Patterson first vice-president. Thus from the beginning the new institution had the support of leaders from the North and South.

During the last twelve years of his life, Howard traveled widely in the interest of the college, wrote much, spoke on many occasions and made frequent trips to Harrogate for

board meetings and college functions. In 1909, during the Lincoln centennial year, he promoted a nationwide campaign for funds, which netted about $250,000 for endowment. Through his efforts he secured an abandoned hotel property for the college, a farm of 480 acres, a library, and a dormitory building. The future of the college was assured by the time of his death. He had completed the mission which his commander-in-chief had assigned him in 1863.

Among his associates at the college, General Howard appreciated no one with greater warmth than his Confederate friend Captain Patterson. On one occasion when the General was beginning his labor for the new college, Patterson sent him a note of cheer. With typical Southern gentility, Patterson said he wanted to "write a word" to express his appreciation of what Howard was doing "to establish a . . . University in memory of Lincoln at Cumberland Gap." Philosophizing that a man's best work is generally considered to be done on the "sunny side of sixty," Patterson felt sure that "the shady side of sixty" would be to Howard "the harvest time of golden honors," because of his service to his "less fortunate countrymen." Couched in military language, Patterson's closing words beautifully expressed what was in his generous Southern heart:

> I cannot imagine a more desirable end to a long and successful life of an old Soldier than to see him still in the saddle, booted and spurred, with sword in hand, battling against ignorance, intemperance, and irreligion — enemies far more dangerous to our liberty and to the peace of society than any armed foe. It is gratifying also to remember you have undertaken this enterprise with the instincts of a true commander. You have not sent out "Aid" or "Picket" to report, but you have reconnoitered the field in person, and I cannot see where you would have selected a better position for the University. I believe Mr. Lincoln himself would take you

by the hand and tell you that you could do him no greater honor than to erect a University in his name which would educate the descendants of the old mountain soldiers who left their own state and stood by him for the Union during the Civil War.[8]

When Howard, Patterson and their early associates passed from the scene, others carried on. Lincoln Memorial University has continued to nurture its Lincoln traditions and has become a Lincoln shrine in the South. Growing slowly and painfully as most educational institutions do, maintained and developed by philanthropic Americans who believe in its mission of service, it is a center of learning and culture for the young people of Lincoln's kind. Its collection of Lincoln books and manuscripts is one of the largest in the world. One of its educational objectives is to emphasize the ideals and philosophy of the man who pointed to Cumberland Gap and spoke so gratefully to General Howard of the people of that area. As a significant part of the Lincoln heritage in the South, Lincoln Memorial University will continue to give strength and leadership to the Union which Lincoln struggled to preserve.

8. Patterson to Howard, Feb. 2, 1901, Howard Papers, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.

WAYNE C. TEMPLE

Mary Todd Lincoln's Travels

Director of the Department of Lincolniana, Wayne C. Temple is also a professor of history at Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee. He received his Ph.D. degree in history from the University of Illinois, where he was a research assistant to Lincoln author J. G. Randall.

BY THE standards of a century ago Mary Todd Lincoln was a much traveled person. Few women of her time went to New York on shopping trips as frequently as she did when she lived at the White House. And fewer still spent as much time abroad as she did after her hubsand's death. While some of her travels have been recorded in detail – particularly those on which she accompanied her husband – others have been almost forgotten. The purpose of this paper is to attempt to remedy that neglect. Many of the details are trivial, but these travels on her own responsibility reveal two characteristics of Mrs. Lincoln: One was her interest in boats and water travel, and the other was a penchant for keeping the newspaper reporters guessing about her plans.

In 1837 eighteen-year-old Mary Todd left her home in Lexington, Kentucky, to visit her sister Elizabeth Edwards in Springfield, Illinois. Two years later she went to Springfield again – this time to stay and to marry the tall lawyer and politician Abraham Lincoln. On Lincoln's way to Congress in 1847, the family – including sons Robert and

Eddie — stopped for a visit at Lexington, and Mary and the boys returned there the next spring while Lincoln remained in Washington until the end of the congressional session and then made a speaking tour for Zachary Taylor's presidential candidacy. All the family but Abraham were again in Lexington during the short session of 1848-1849, and husband and wife made two business trips there in late 1849 and 1850 in connection with the settlement of the estates of Mary's father and grandmother.

There is no reason to doubt that, on all these trips, they followed the customary route — by rail from Lexington to Louisville, then by steamer down the Ohio to Cairo and up the Mississippi to Alton, where they could take the stagecoach direct to Springfield or transfer to an Illinois River boat for Naples and then proceed by stage. Available evidence indicates that when Mary visited Columbia, Missouri, in 1840, she went up the Missouri River by steamboat, and that after their Lexington visit in 1847 the family continued up the Ohio from Maysville, Kentucky, to Wheeling, Virginia (now West Virginia), where they took the National Road to the then terminus of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.

During the 1850's the care of a growing family seems to have confined Mary Lincoln largely to Springfield; during that same decade railroads were constructed at such a rate that her later recorded trips up to the time of her husband's inauguration as President — to the Alton debate in 1858, on the Ohio speaking tour in 1859, to Chicago in November, 1860, a shopping trip to New York in January, 1861, and the trip to Washington the following month for the inauguration — could be and were made entirely "on the cars." But from her earlier travels the new First Lady seems to have acquired an interest in ships, which, during her occupancy

of the White House, she took occasion to satisfy whenever possible.[1]

On the afternoon of May 10, 1861, Mrs. Lincoln, accompanied by William S. Wood, Colonel Robert Anderson, Mrs. Elizabeth Todd Grimsley and a niece, left Washington to visit New York City. Although they had been invited to make the journey entirely by water, they proceeded by way of Annapolis to Philadelphia, where they arrived that same evening.[2] Colonel Anderson was officially welcomed at Independence Hall on the afternoon of the following day and lionized for his heroic defense of Fort Sumter. Immediately following these festivities the group left Philadelphia and

1. If it is true — and it has never been proved or disproved — as some say, that Mary met Lincoln at Niagara Falls on his return from the New England speaking tour in 1848, she would have been with him on his lake trip on the *Globe*. "A. Lincoln and Family" registered at the Cataract House, Niagara Falls, in 1857 during Lincoln's trip to New York in regard to his fee in the Illinois Central Railroad case. "We visited Niagara, Canada, New York and other points of interest," Mary wrote her half-sister Emilie on September 20; but she does not indicate whether any part of the trip was made by boat. See also Ruth Painter Randall, *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage* (Boston, 1953); Randall, *Lincoln's Sons* (Boston, 1955); Benjamin P. Thomas, *Lincoln, 1847-1853: Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln from January 1, 1847 to December 31, 1853* (Springfield, 1936); Paul M. Angle, *Lincoln, 1854-1861: Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln from January 1, 1854 to March 4, 1861* (Springfield, 1933); William H. Townsend, *Lincoln and the Bluegrass: Slavery and Civil War in Kentucky* (Lexington, 1955); Irving Stone, *Love Is Eternal: A Novel about Mary Todd and Abraham Lincoln* (Garden City, 1954); Harry E. Pratt, *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield, 1943); Levi North to Lyman Trumbull, April 16, 1864, Trumbull Papers, Library of Congress.

2. Wood was appointed Commissioner of Public Buildings by Lincoln, but the Senate refused to confirm his appointment; Mrs. Grimsley was Mrs. Lincoln's cousin, and the niece was probably Julia Edwards Baker or Elizabeth Edwards, daughters of Mrs. Elizabeth Todd Edwards. Mrs. Grimsley says that Mrs. Lincoln, on a previous trip to New York, had traveled by water as far as Perth Amboy, N.J. But she confused the events of these two trips. Her main theme was to refute the stories of purchases made by Mrs. Lincoln in New York, but she either had a poor memory or deliberately misstated the facts. Elizabeth Todd Grimsley, "Six Months in the White House," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XIX (Oct.-Jan., 1926-27): 58-59.

reached New York at 6:30 P.M. Mrs. Lincoln took a suite at the Metropolitan Hotel and appeared to be "in the best of health and spirits."

To Washington reporters she had announced that she did not intend to remain very long in New York. Rarely, though, did Mrs. Lincoln tell the newspapers the truth about her travel plans. On Sunday morning, May 12, she created "a great sensation" by appearing in the congregation of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Church in Brooklyn. And soon the papers reported that she intended to tarry "several days" in New York for the purpose of shopping and relaxing "from the arduous cares and duties of the White House."

On Monday morning the President's wife "inspected a number of carriages at Brewster's manufactory, and later in the day visited [Alexander T.] Stewart's and other dry-goods stores, purchasing quite extensively." She had dinner with "an intimate friend" and then returned to the Metropolitan, where she received numerous visitors. On Tuesday she made large purchases at Lord & Taylor's and in the afternoon called on Colonel Anderson at the Brevoort House. That evening a group of friends accompanied her to Laura Keene's Theatre, where the program — which began at 8 P.M. — included "The Seven Sisters," "Uncle Sam's Magic Lantern," "Beautiful Union Tableaux" and "The Birth of the Butterfly in the Bower of Ferns."

Mrs. Lincoln went on more shopping excursions on Wednesday. She returned to Lord & Taylor's before going on to E. V. Haughwout & Company, at 488-492 Broadway, where she ordered a dinner service in solferino and gold for the White House, each piece to have the "arms of the United States emblazoned" on it.[3] In the afternoon she

3. The cost was $3,195, and the bill was dated Sept. 2, 1861, indi-

"paid a visit of exploration" to the *Great Eastern,* the largest ship afloat at that time.[4] She was received aboard the ship "with the most marked attention." Evidently she walked about the decks for some time, because after her visit she was "too fatigued to see company."

Thursday morning, May 16, Mrs. Lincoln took a carriage ride to the Brooklyn Navy Yard and Greenwood Cemetery. During the afternoon she made purchases at several stores, and at 10:30 P.M. the band of the Empire City Regiment appeared beneath the windows of the hotel and serenaded her. The Excelsior Brigade was also lined up below her casement to pay its respects to the President's lady. Mrs. Lincoln, who had been resting in her rooms, appeared at the window, bowed her compliments to the assembled throng and dropped a bouquet to the band. For this gesture she received a hearty cheer. The next morning Mrs. Lincoln, Mrs. Grimsley and Wood were escorted through the Park Barracks and after an inspection were given refreshments in one of the officers' apartments. The First Lady called at the Springler Institute in the afternoon, and at 5 P.M. boarded the Fall River boat en route to Boston to visit her son Robert Todd Lincoln, who was attending Harvard College.[5]

She reached Boston on the morning of May 18. Senator

cating the time of delivery to the White House. This set of Haviland china is on permanent display in the White House. Harry E. Pratt and Ernest E. East, "Mrs. Lincoln Refurbishes the White House," *Lincoln Herald,* XLVII (Feb., 1945): 20; R. Gerald McMurtry, "Lincoln White House Glass and China," *ibid.,* XLIX (June, 1947): 34.

4. The *Great Eastern* was built at Millwall on the Thames, by John Scott Russell and Company for the Eastern Steam Navigation Company. The construction of the 693-foot-long vessel took four years (1854-1858), but she proved unsuitable for regular Atlantic passenger service. She successfully laid the Atlantic cable in 1866, however, and was broken up for scrap in 1889.

5. This visit is described in *New-York Tribune,* May 10-18, 1861; *New York Herald,* May 11-13, 17, 1861.

Charles Sumner had made arrangements for "a charming reception at the Revere House," and the visitors were treated to fine dinners and pleasant meetings with distinguished men of the community and the college. After spending Sunday with Robert, Mrs. Lincoln returned to New York (probably by boat). She arrived at the Metropolitan on the afternoon of May 20 but left New York the following day. She was back at the White House by May 24 and accompanied the President to view the body of Elmer E. Ellsworth.[6]

Again, on July 9, 1862, Mrs. Lincoln, accompanied by some servants and her youngest son Thomas ("Tad") Lincoln, arrived in New York and registered at the Metropolitan. Robert Lincoln joined her there on the evening of July 10. True to form, she announced that she intended to visit West Point on July 12, but the day came and the expected event did not take place. Similar announcements on July 15 and 16 were also "red herrings."

At noon on July 14 – accompanied by Robert and Tad; Captain W. A. Murfey, of the United States Military Railroad Department; Hon. Rufus F. Andrews, Surveyor of the Port of New York; Colonel Thomas W. Sweney, Assessor of Internal Revenue at Philadelphia; and Major Gilbert of New York – she boarded the revenue cutter *J. C. Winants* and sailed for Flushing Bay. There they were received aboard the *Great Eastern* by Captain Walter Paton of the Royal Navy; they later paid a call on the steamer *City of New York,* where they had lunch. Early the next day Mrs. Lincoln boarded the *Winants* again, for a trip about New York harbor, accompanied by Mrs. Wm. H. Marston, an old friend, Mrs. Thomas Campbell, Captain and Mrs.

6. *N.Y. Tribune,* May 19, 1861; *N.Y. Herald,* May 20, 21, 26, 1861; Grimsley, "Six Months in the White House," 59.

Murfey, Andrews, Sweney and Gilbert. Starting at 10 A.M. from the anchorage at the foot of Spring Street, the sightseers sailed up the East River past the *Great Eastern,* took a swing around the lightship off Sandy Hook and did not return to the city until evening.

On July 16 Mrs. Lincoln went to the New England Soldiers' Relief Association, at 194 Broadway, and signed the visitors' book. The next morning she and her sons, with Sweney, entered a special car which had been "attached to the train for Washington from Jersey City," and a few minutes after 7 A.M. departed from the station.[7]

The First Lady and Tad returned to New York on the evening of October 20, 1862, and again took quarters at the Metropolitan. In all probability she had deserted Washington in order to rest and shop, but so many distinguished visitors called upon her that she found little time for relaxation. Soon after the band from the Brooklyn Navy Yard serenaded her on October 25, the newspapers remarked that her health "has obliged her to decline seeing many distinguished citizens and strangers who have called at the Metropolitan Hotel for that purpose."

By October 28, however, she had "entirely recovered from the slight indisposition under which she has been laboring for the last few days"; she "resumed her shopping excursions," "received a number of visitors at the Metropolitan Hotel," and the next day joined Andrews, General Nathaniel P. Banks and a group of friends for a trip in a harbor cutter out to the ship-of-the-line *North Carolina,* the flagship of

7. *N.Y. Herald,* July 10, 11, 14-16, 18, 1862; Parke-Bernet Galleries' *Catalogue,* Dec. 3, 1957. Robert was not on the *Winants* on July 15; instead, he was the guest of Col. Frank E. Howe (Hamilton House) on Staten Island; Tad, however, was certainly along, because he and Sweney were fast friends. See Gustav Gumpert, "Tad Lincoln and Gus Gumpert," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.,* XLVIII (Spring, 1955): 42, 44.

Rear Admiral Hiram Paulding, being used as a receiving ship in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Captain Lowber escorted Mrs. Lincoln aboard the *North Carolina* at one o'clock, and she remained aboard until nearly four. An hour later she landed back in New York after a very pleasant afternoon. A visit to many New York City stores occupied her time "during the greater part" of October 31; the remainder of this day was spent chatting with friends and officials. The next day she left the hotel at 2 P.M. and drove along Bloomindale Road and through Central Park with Generals Winfield Scott and Robert Anderson, returning about five.[8]

On the morning of November 7 she left the Metropolitan with Tad and Captain and Mrs. Murfey, and proceeded by the Lake Shore route to Boston to visit Robert at Harvard. They arrived that same day and took rooms at the Parker House. President Lincoln knew of her plans and addressed a telegram to her at Boston on November 9. A band serenaded the First Lady on November 10, and she graciously acknowledged the tribute by appearing at the window several times and waving her handkerchief.[9]

Her visit with Robert was not lengthy, since she was back at the Metropolitan in New York by November 13. She told the journalists at first that she intended to remain "a short time" in New York before returning to Washington; then she announced that she would leave on November 20 "should the weather prove favorable." Of course, the weather proved "unfavorable" several times; finally, she and Tad, with Captain Murfey, left at 7A.M. on Novem-

8. *N.Y. Tribune,* Oct. 21, 1862; *N.Y. Herald,* Oct. 21, 24, 25, 27, 28-30, Nov. 1, 2, 1862.

9. *Ibid.,* Nov. 8, 10, 14, 1862; Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), V: 492 (hereafter cited as *Collected Works*).

ber 27 in a special car which went directly to Washington by way of Philadelphia and Baltimore. Mary Lincoln reached Washington that evening after having been away over five weeks. She must have smiled as she read the newspaper accounts of her return, because she had again outwitted the reporters and the reading public. One reporter wrote that "there were few upon the train who knew that this distinguished lady was among the passengers."[10]

Early in April, 1863, Mrs. Lincoln decided that the President needed a rest, and a trip to the Army of the Potomac was arranged. The review of the army was planned in honor of Tad's birthday, April 4, but not until that day did the Lincolns leave Washington. Accompanying them were Noah Brooks, an old Illinois acquaintance of the President, now Washington correspondent for the *Sacramento Union;* Dr. Anson G. Henry, an old Springfield friend, now surveyor general of Washington Territory; and Captain Medoram Crawford, commander of the Emigrant Escort Service. Just half an hour before the party sailed, Dr. Henry suggested that the President also invite Attorney General Edward Bates. Bates accepted gladly, and at 5 P.M. at the Navy Yard the members of the excursion boarded the *Carrie Martin,* which slipped way from the pier at sunset, steaming off into a blinding snowstorm.[11]

On the following morning the little craft arrived at the Aquia Creek landing. A special train carried the President's party to Falmouth station, whence they were conveyed in wagons to General Joseph Hooker's headquarters.

10. *N.Y. Herald,* Nov. 13, 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 28, 1862.

11. "Castine" [Noah Brooks], Washington, April 12, 1863, in *Sacramento* (Calif.) *Union,* May 8, 1863; Brooks, "A Boy in the White House," *St. Nicholas,* X (Nov., 1882): 62; A. G. Henry to his wife, April 12, 1863, Henry Papers, Illinois State Historical Library; Howard K. Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866* (Washington, 1933), 287.

Two large hospital tents were pitched nearby — one for the President and family, the other for Dr. Henry, Brooks and Crawford. Bates spent much of his time with members of the Eleventh Infantry. Tad, sporting a gray suit, rambled about the many tents and examined "the quarters of the staff" while the orderlies and sentries watched with amused curiosity. After a thorough review of the various corps, Lincoln and his party left the army on the afternoon of April 10 and returned to Washington on the *Carrie Martin,* escorted by Generals Carl Schurz and Daniel E. Sickles. They arrived that same evening.[12]

It was Mrs. Lincoln's habit to spend long periods of time away from Washington during hot weather. In the late summer of 1863 she decided to visit New York City again, but she concealed her movements so successfully that the New York papers did not discover for several days that she was in the city. On August 22 one writer reported that Mrs. Lincoln, "who has been in the city a few days," had on August 20 visited the French frigate *La Guerrière,* commanded by Admiral Renaud, which was lying "off the Battery, in the North River." Following her inspection of the thirty-six-gun frigate, Mrs. Lincoln re-embarked in the *Winants,* which had taken her to the larger ship, for a cruise before returning to shore. On August 24 she left New York for Manchester, Vermont, where she remained for some time in the Equinox House.[13]

Since Russia feared that a war with Great Britain might result from the current Polish uprising, and since she also wanted to give a demonstration of her opposition to possible

12. "Castine," Washington, April 12, 1863, in *Sacramento Union,* May 8, 1863; *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), April 9, 14, 1863; Beale, *Diary of Edward Bates,* 288; *N.Y. Herald,* April 10, 1863.

13. *Ibid.,* Aug. 22, 27, Sept. 1, 1863; *N.Y. Tribune,* Aug. 22, 1863.

Anglo-French intervention in the Civil War, the Russian fleet was ordered to the United States so that it might be in a position for action in the Atlantic Ocean. Upon putting out to sea the Russian warships separated, each proceeding alone. One of the first to arrive at New York was the frigate *Osliaba,* which appeared in port on the morning of September 11, 1863. Mrs. Lincoln, who had returned to New York from Manchester some time after September 6, visited the *Osliaba* on September 16 in a company which included Mrs. Nathaniel P. Banks, General John A. Dix and Russian Consul-General Baron d'Ostensacken. The visitors arrived on board about 2 P.M. and after examining the frigate were taken to Captain Boutakoff's cabin for refreshments. The President's wife offered a toast, "The health of the Emperor of Russia," to which the Captain replied by toasting "The President of the United States." After spending approximately an hour in pleasant conversation, Mrs. Lincoln and party left the *Osliaba* and returned to shore.[14]

14. The *Osliaba,* commanded by Captain Boutakoff, was 235 feet in length, 48 feet at the beam, 22 feet deep in the hold, and of 3,000 tons burden. Her armament consisted of forty 68-pounders and a stern gun mounted on a platform. Her crew numbered 450, who doubled as sailors or marines as occasion demanded. The frigate *Alexander Nevsky* came into New York on Sept. 24, followed later by the *Presviet, Variag, Vitcase, Almos, Isoumvoud* and *Jahont.* After visiting New York the Russian ships sailed to Washington, anchoring in the Potomac near Alexandria on the afternoon of Dec. 2. Various heads of departments visited the fleet on Dec. 7, and Secretary of State William H. Seward gave a dinner for its officers that evening. Lincoln held a reception for them at the White House on Dec. 19. There is no record, however, of Mrs. Lincoln's having gone on board any of the Russian ships at this time, though Albert A. Woldman, in his *Lincoln and the Russians* (Cleveland, 1952), 147, confuses matters by talking about Mrs. Lincoln's and Boutakoff's toasts in connection with the fleet's visit to the Potomac. Russia's Pacific fleet also sailed into American waters, anchoring at San Francisco. Nikolay Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakov, *My Musical Life* (New York, 1942), 40-45; *N.Y. Tribune,* Sept. 12, 18, 25, 26, 1863; *N.Y. Herald,* Sept. 17, Dec. 3, 8, 20, 1863; *Collected Works,* VI: 434.

Lincoln missed the companionship of his wife and wrote to her at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York on September 21, telling her that the air was cool in Washington and that he would be glad to see her and Tad. But instead of returning to Washington she boarded a revenue steamer (probably the *Winants*) with Andrews and Dix for a visit to West Point on September 24. There she met General Scott and had dinner with him that evening, returning to New York on the same steamer. On that day her husband wrote her about the death of Confederate General Ben Hardin Helm, her brother-in-law, at Chickamauga; but even this sad news did not bring Mrs. Lincoln home to Washington until the evening of September 28.[15]

Not until March 23, 1865, is there a further account of Mrs. Lincoln's water travels. To escape from his official duties and pressures, Lincoln, together with his wife and Tad, left Washington at noon on the steamer *River Queen*, convoyed by the *Bat*. Their destination was City Point, Virginia, the headquarters of General Ulysses S. Grant. The General had on his staff a certain captain who was dear to the hearts of President and Mrs. Lincoln – their son, Robert Todd Lincoln. By noon of March 24 the Lincolns were at Fortress Monroe, where Mrs. Lincoln stopped to send a telegram to Mrs. Mary Ann Cuthbert, the White House housekeeper, asking if everything was all right. By 8:30 P.M. they were at City Point.[16]

During one of the army reviews the First Lady took offense at Mrs. Edward O. C. Ord's riding beside the President and, in a huff, left City Point on the *River Queen* on April 1, arriving in Washington the next morning. Tad

15. *Ibid.*, VI: 471, 478; *N.Y. Herald*, Sept. 26, 29, 1863.

16. Mary Lincoln to Mrs. Mary Ann Cuthbert, March 24, 1865, telegram, Ill. State Hist. Lib.; *N.Y. Herald*, March 24, 26, 27, 1865.

and his father remained with Grant. Mrs. Lincoln, back at the White House, detailed Joseph Sheldon, a member of the Metropolitan Police, to stand guard at the Mansion. Her temper had probably cooled by this time, because she sent a telegram to her husband saying that she wished to return on April 5. She kept to this schedule and on April 6 was at Fortress Monroe en route back to City Point. She evidently brought some friends with her, because, when the Lincolns left City Point at 11 P.M. on April 8, Senators Charles Sumner and James Harlan and Mrs. Harlan accompanied them back to Washington on the *River Queen.* They landed on the night of April 9.[17]

Less than a week later, on April 15, the President died from the bullet fired by John Wilkes Booth the previous evening. It seems, from a careful examination of the facts, that this event tended to accentuate Mrs. Lincoln's peculiar mental patterns and made her, more than ever, emotionally unstable. After making a fool of herself with the old-clothes scandal in 1867, she decided to leave the United States.

A year later, after attending Robert's marriage to Mary Harlan in Washington on September 24, 1868, Mary Lincoln returned to Baltimore and made preparations for a trip to Europe. Tad remained with the Harlans and went to Baltimore just in time to sail with his mother from that city on the steamer *Baltimore* on October 1. "Mrs. Lincoln has partially outwitted the newsmongers," said the *New York Tribune,* "and has departed in peace for Europe, intending to place her son at school." The *Baltimore* docked

17. Mary Lincoln to A. Lincoln, April 2 [1865], Mary Lincoln to Edwin M. Stanton, April 6, 1865, telegrams; note by Mary Lincoln, April 3, 1865, Ill. State Hist. Lib.; *Collected Works,* VIII: 381; *N.Y. Herald,* April 10, 1865; *National Intelligencer,* April 10, 1865.

at Southampton, England, at 6 P.M. on October 15, and from there the travels of mother and son led to Germany. During this European sojourn they crossed the English Channel three times — for a sight-seeing trip to Scotland in 1869 and back to the Continent, and in 1870, on the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, to England, where Tad continued his education.[18]

The following year Mrs. Lincoln determined to return to the United States to see Robert and her young granddaughter. On April 29, 1871, she and Tad sailed from Liverpool on board the *Russia*. General Philip H. Sheridan was on the same ship. The *Russia's* scheduled landing in New York was delayed from May 9 to May 10; since, however, a reception for the General had been planned, the cutter *Bronx* sailed out to meet the famous soldier, and also took Mrs. Lincoln and Tad ashore. Mrs. Lincoln was "still clad in mourning, but looks well." They stayed at the Everett House a few days and left on the morning of May 15 for Chicago. But only two months later, July 15, Tad died.[19]

After this cruel blow, Mrs. Lincoln said she had little reason to live; her mental condition grew worse and she spent some time in an asylum. After her release in 1876 she fled to Europe once again. Apparently she eluded the newspapermen, for it is not known just when she sailed; but she wrote from Le Havre, France, on October 17, 1876, to her grandnephew that she was sailing to Bordeaux on the *Columbia* the next day. For four years she wandered

18. Mary Lincoln to Mrs. Felician Slataper, Sept. 25, 29, 1868, Aug. 21, 1869, Nov. 7, 1870, July 27 [1871?], in Justin G. Turner, "The Mary Lincoln Letters to Mrs. Felician Slataper," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XLIX (Spring, 1956): 19-22, 28-31; *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), Oct. 6, 1868; *N.Y. Tribune,* Oct. 6, 16, 1868. They did not sail from New York, as stated by some authors.

19. *N.Y. Tribune,* May 11, 1871; *Chicago Tribune,* May 11, 1871; *Ill. State Jour.,* May 16, July 16, 1871.

about Europe and then booked passage back to the United States on the *Amérique,* which steamed out of Le Havre on October 16, 1880. One of her fellow-passengers, the "divine Sarah" Bernhardt, later told how she helped to save Mrs. Lincoln's life by grabbing her skirts as she fell toward a staircase (called a "ladder" by sailors). The actress recalled that Lincoln's widow was still dressed in black and appeared very sad. It was not an easy voyage because for three days and nights the *Amérique* was tossed about by "wild storms." When she finally docked at her pier in New York at 6:30 A.M. on October 27, Mrs. Lincoln disembarked and went immediately to the Clarendon Hotel. Reporters thought she was very ill because she refused to see anyone, but she was not in the mood to meet people.[20]

Her stay in New York was brief, and she returned to Springfield about November 3, taking up her residence again with the Ninian Edwards family on South Second Street. A local paper declared that "Mrs. Lincoln is in very good health, and the reports telegraphed over the country that she was taken seriously ill on her arrival in New York were unfounded." But the lonely widow had made her last voyage. In spite of the denials, she was seriously ill and died at her sister's home in Springfield on July 16, 1882.[21]

20. Mary Lincoln to Lewis Baker, Oct. 17, 1876, Oct. 7, 1880, Ill. State Hist. Lib.; *N.Y. Tribune,* Oct. 17, 28, 1880; Sarah Bernhardt, *Memories of My Life* (New York, 1907), 370, 377.

21. *Ill. State Jour.,* Nov. 4, 1880, July 17, 1882; *The Round Table* (Springfield), July 22, 1882.

JAMES T. HICKEY

Three R's in Lincoln's Education: Rogers, Riggin and Rankin

Though a young man, James T. Hickey has been collecting Lincolniana for almost twenty years. He was appointed to the staff of the Illinois State Historical Library in February, 1958. Hickey is a director of the Logan County Historical Society and a past director of the State Society. As a result of the discovery in 1957 of twenty-two books from the library of Colonel Matthew Rogers, he proposes some new theories about Abraham Lincoln's education.

THE NAME of Rogers is not unknown to Lincoln scholars, for a number of authors have mentioned the fact that the New Salem schoolmaster Mentor Graham sent Abraham Lincoln to the Rogers home to borrow books.[1] But in discussions of Lincoln's education, the name has been largely ignored, probably because so little has been known about the Rogers family, and two others to whom they were related by marriage – the Rankin and the Riggin families.

The writer's interest in these families and in Lincoln's education at New Salem was recently stimulated by the discovery of twenty-two volumes which were once a part of the Rogers' library. The fact that the Rogers family was

1. Ida M. Tarbell, *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns* (New York, 1924), 216; Rufus Rockwell Wilson, *What Lincoln Read* (Washington, D.C., 1932), 43; Kunigunde Duncan and D. F. Nickols, *Mentor Graham, the Man Who Taught Lincoln* (Chicago, 1944), 135; M. L. Houser, *The Education of Abraham Lincoln* (Peoria, 1938), 11; Luther Emerson Robinson, *Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Letters* (New York, 1923), 19, 20, 21; Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, the Prairie Years* (New York, 1926), I: 416-17.

well educated and had a library unusually large for the frontier suggests that they may have had more to do with Lincoln's education than has been supposed.[2]

Colonel Matthew Rogers was a descendant of John Rogers of England, who was burned at the stake in 1555 for his Protestant preaching. The family, which migrated to America in 1635, was prominent in colonial history. Colonel Rogers himself was born in Connecticut in 1770. As a youth he was apprenticed to a ship's carpenter, but he later became a farmer and emigrated to New York, where he purchased about one hundred acres of land near Cooperstown. He married Susanna Morse, a daughter of Judge Timothy Morse of Woodstock, Connecticut, and a second counsin of Samuel F. B. Morse. They became the parents of eight children, the oldest, Miriam Lee, born August 7, 1794, and the youngest, Henry C., born January 20, 1808. During the War of 1812, Matthew Rogers served as colonel of the 54th Regiment, New York Militia. After the war, in the summer of 1818, he sold his farm and property at Cooperstown and, on September 25, started for Illinois with his family, which by then included Martin Higgins, the husband of his daughter Anna. The first one hundred fifty miles of the trip, from Cooperstown to Olean Point on the

2. George A. Seipp, a Minneapolis, Minn., bookbinder and Lincoln student, some time ago called the author's attention to a number of old books owned by Augustus K. Riggin, of Petersburg, Ill. Mr. Riggin, the great-grandson of Col. Matthew Rogers, had inherited these volumes from the Rogers and Riggin libraries and was willing to sell some of them. Of the books that are known to have come from the Colonel's library, the author now owns twenty, and Mr. Seipp owns one — the file of *Niles' Register*. Since these purchases were made, another book from the Colonel's library has been discovered. It is owned by Mrs. June Power Reilly, of Cantrall, Ill. This volume, *The Art of War*, was sold by the Colonel to Mrs. Reilly's grandfather, George Power. It is safe to assume, both because of this latest discovery and because of the large number of Rogers' heirs, that the books owned by Mr. Riggin were only a small part of the Colonel's original library.

Allegheny River, was made by wagon. At Olean Point, Rogers built a double flatboat which carried his family down the Allegheny to Pittsburgh and on down the Ohio to Shawneetown, Illinois, where they arrived December 17, 1818. Again the family and their household goods were loaded on two large wagons, each drawn by six horses, which carried them across southern Illinois to the new town of Troy in Madison County, about eighteen miles east by northeast of St. Louis.[3]

Here the Rogers family met James and Harry Riggin. James Riggin and David Hendershott, founders of the new town, were in the process of establishing a local government and promoting immigration to Troy. James also operated a store along with his brother Harry and Samuel Ried.[4] The Riggin brothers were sons of the Rev. James Riggin, a Methodist preacher of Sevierville, Tennessee. Originally Catholic, the Riggin family had renounced Catholicism when they came to America from Ireland.[5] In 1817 Harry Riggin migrated to Illinois, where he taught school for awhile. His brother soon joined him, and they went into business together at Troy.[6]

The Rogers family remained at Troy during 1819 and 1820, and on March 2, 1820, the Rogers and Riggin families were drawn closer together when Colonel Rogers' daughter Miriam Lee married Harry Riggin.[7]

In October, 1819, Colonel Rogers had made a trip to

3. *Illustrated Atlas Map of Menard County, Illinois* (W. R. Brink & Co., n.p. [Philadelphia], 1874), 31; Augustus Kerr Riggin, "History of the Rogers and Riggin Families," copy of manuscript in the Illinois State Historical Library.

4. W. T. Norton, ed., *Centennial History of Madison County, Illinois and Its People, 1812 to 1912* (Chicago, 1912), I: 557-58.

5. *Atlas Map of Menard County,* 31.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Riggin, "History of the Rogers and Riggin Families"; *Atlas Map of Menard County,* 31.

Sangamon County, where he staked a claim and built a cabin. On March 26, 1821, he took his family to the new home in what is now Menard County. Harry Riggin and his wife located nearby at the same time.[8]

Matthew Rogers' home was a mile north of the present-day town of Athens, and here he farmed and operated a tree nursery. He built the first frame barn north of the Sangamon River in 1826 or 1827, and in 1828 built the first frame house north of the river. On January 2, 1828, a post office called Rogers (first in the area) was established at his home, and he was appointed the first postmaster. His son Henry C. Rogers succeeded him on February 13, 1829.[9]

By that year several members of the Colonel's family had left home. His son Matthew, married to Laura Hall and the father of two children, Harriet and Fidelia, had apparently become widowed, for he left his children with his sister, Miriam Riggin, and moved to Louisiana, where he became the owner of a large plantation. In a letter home, dated September 12, 1828, he sent $20 to be used for the education of the children. As he said, "I wish to give them a genteel and respectable education."[10]

Two other sons, John Lee and Timothy, who ultimately become doctors, attended medical college in Cincinnati during the period 1827-1830; John Lee settled in Shreveport, Louisiana, and Timothy in Centreville, Mississippi. They, too, became the owners of large plantations.[11]

8. *Ibid.*

9. John Clark Harris, *History of Athens* . . . ([Athens, Ill.?], *ca.* 1938), [5]; Henry B. Rankin, *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1916), 62-69. Post Office Department records, in the National Archives, however, show Matthew Rogers as postmaster until Feb. 6, 1832, both when the town was Rogers and after it became Athens.

10. Photostat of letter in author's possession.

11. Rogers and Riggin family letters, Ill. State Hist. Lib.

Elizabeth Rogers married James Riggin, the brother of her sister's husband, and moved with him to Lebanon, Illinois, where they were very active in McKendree College, he becoming the first secretary of the college in 1837. Henry C. Rogers, another son of the Colonel, married Sarah Moore, November 26, 1829, and settled on the farm adjoining his father's.[12]

On September 5, 1831, Arminda, the second Rogers child and the last to marry, became the wife of Amberry A. Rankin, who had come to Illinois in 1828 from Cynthiana, Kentucky.

When Lincoln arrived at New Salem in 1831, the Rogers family included the Colonel and his second wife, Anna Senter, whom he had married May 5, 1830 (his first wife died September 18, 1828), Martin and Anna Higgins, Harry and Miriam Riggin, Amberry and Arminda Rankin, Henry C. and Sarah Rogers and, of course, several grandchildren.[13]

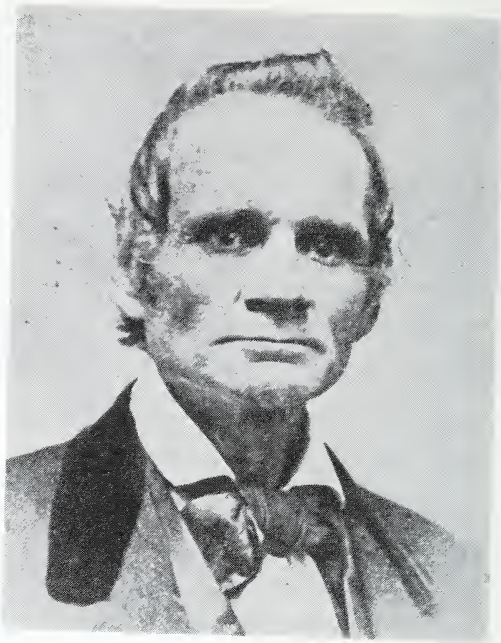
At that time the family was busy in the promotion and development of a new town. On September 7, 1831, Harry Riggin and Abner Hall employed James Stevenson to survey the new town of Athens. Here Colonel Rogers had built a two-story frame building, which is still standing. Into this building, on November 4, 1831, Henry C. Rogers moved the post office, changing its name from Rogers to Athens.[14] During the early part of the following year, Harry Riggin and Amberry A. Rankin opened a store in the building. It is probable that this store was a family venture, for a license to retail merchandise was issued by the clerk of the Sangamon County Commissioners' Court to Harry Riggin and

12. Sangamon County Marriage Records.

13. *Ibid.*; *Atlas Map of Menard County,* 31; Riggin, "History of the Rogers and Riggin Families."

14. Harris, *History of Athens,* [5]; Riggin, "History of the Rogers and Riggin Families."

Arminda Rogers Rankin as she appeared at the age of eighty-two.



Henry C. Rogers, who voted for Lincoln every time he had an opportunity.

Company on April 23, 1831, for a fee of $7.50. Also, a bill of Knapp & Pogue, Beardstown wholesale merchants, lists supplies sold to "Col. Rogers' store" during 1832.[15]

While members of the Rogers family were closely allied in business, apparently they were not in such close agreement on religion and politics. Some of the family were Methodists and friends of Peter Cartwright, the famous Methodist preacher; the rest were Presbyterians, active in the formation of the North Sangamon Presbyterian Church at Indian Point. By 1833 Colonel Rogers was living in Athens, having turned his farm over to his son-in-law and daughter, Amberry and Arminda Rankin. On several occasions his home in Athens was used as the polling place for

15. Original bill in author's possession.

Union Precinct. The precinct poll books for the elections in August, 1834, 1836 and 1838, when Lincoln was a candidate for the legislature, give some idea of how the family voted. In the election of August 4, 1834, Lincoln received 174 votes in the precinct. Henry C. Rogers, Martin Higgins and Harry Riggin all voted for Lincoln; there is no record of how Colonel Rogers or Amberry Rankin voted. In the election of August 1, 1836, Lincoln received 150 votes in the precinct. In that year, Higgins and Henry C. Rogers voted for Lincoln while Colonel Rogers and Harry Riggin did not. In the August 6, 1838, election, Harry Riggin was also a candidate for the legislature. Strangely enough, he did not vote either for himself or for Lincoln, but cast all his seven votes for other candidates in the legislative contest.[16]

On December 18, 1834, Colonel Rogers married a third time. His bride was Susannah Overstreet, widow of the Rev. John Overstreet, a Methodist preacher. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Peter Cartwright.[17]

Mentor Graham could not have sent Lincoln to a better family for books or for help in understanding them than to the Rogers family. When Colonel Rogers came to Illinois in 1818, he brought with him a chest of books, some of which had probably been purchased for his four children who attended Cooperstown College. Later, his sons who attended medical college in Cincinnati sent books home from that place. Not only did the Rogers family have a large library, but most of its members were well educated; three of those in Menard County, for example, were teachers: Henry C. Rogers and his sister Arminda Rankin both taught school

16. Neither did Lincoln vote for himself or for Riggin; poll books in Illinois State Archives, Springfield.

17. Sangamon County Marriage Records.

after coming to the county, and Harry Riggin had taught school in Madison County in 1817 and 1818. Furthermore, Henry C. Rogers was so interested in education that he built a log house on his farm, where J. A. Mendall conducted a school.[18]

Of the books Colonel Rogers brought with him from Cooperstown or which were acquired by the family before 1836, the following list gives some idea of what was available to Lincoln:

Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Letters* (two volumes; Brooklyn, 1812)
Charles Davies, *Elements of Surveying* (New York, 1830)
James Thomson, *The Seasons* (Boston, 1826)
Stephen Jones, *A New Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1796)
John Milton, *Paradise Lost*
David Patterson, *Adams Latin Grammar* (New York, 1830)
William Jay, *Sermons* (Cooperstown, 1812)
A Narrative of the Life and Medical Discoveries of Samuel Thompson (Columbus, 1827)
The Roué (New York, 1828)
The Works of Horace (New York, 1826)
Thomas Colley Grattan, *The History of the Netherlands* (Philadelphia, 1831)
Lindley Murray, *The English Reader* (Baltimore, 1829)
Don Quixote (3 volumes; Exeter, 1827)
Thinks-to-Myself (New York, 1812)
J. Lempriere, *Bibliotheca Classica* (New York, 1805)
The New Testament (New York, 1805)
The Holy Bible (Hartford, 1816)
J. Olney, *Geography* (1832)
Cicero (1833)
Niles' Register
Francis Wayland, D.D., *The Elements of Moral Science* (New York, 1835)
Nicholas Machiavel, *The Art of War* (Albany, 1815)

18. See citations in nn. 1 and 3.

The frame store which Colonel Matthew Rogers built in Athens, in 1831, as it appeared early in December, 1958.

Many years later, Arminda Rogers Rankin told her son that she had coached both Lincoln and Anna Rutledge in Kirkham's *Grammar* and Blair's *Rhetoric*. We may therefore assume that the above-listed copy of Blair which was the property of her father, and is signed by him as such, was the book used by Lincoln. The *English Grammar,* by Samuel Kirkham, published at Cincinnati in 1826, which was used by Lincoln and Anna Rutledge is now in the Library of Congress.[19]

19. M. L. Houser, *Lincoln's Early Political Education* (Peoria, Ill. 1944), 18; see also citations in n. 1.

According to Herndon (*Lincoln Lore,* No. 76), Lincoln once said that "Murray's English Reader was the best school book ever put into the hands of American youth." Lincoln did not say where or when he had read the book, but we know now that he could have borrowed it from the Rogers family.

M. L. Houser, in one of his works on Lincoln's books, says that Lincoln made his first serious study of religion at New Salem. If this is true, the book *Elements of Moral Science,* by Francis Wayland, president of Brown University, must have been of tremendous interest to Lincoln.[20]

Although Lincoln in his autobiography mentioned that before he began surveying, he "studied Flint, and Gibson a little," he could also have borrowed Colonel Rogers' book on surveying by Charles Davies and might have done so.

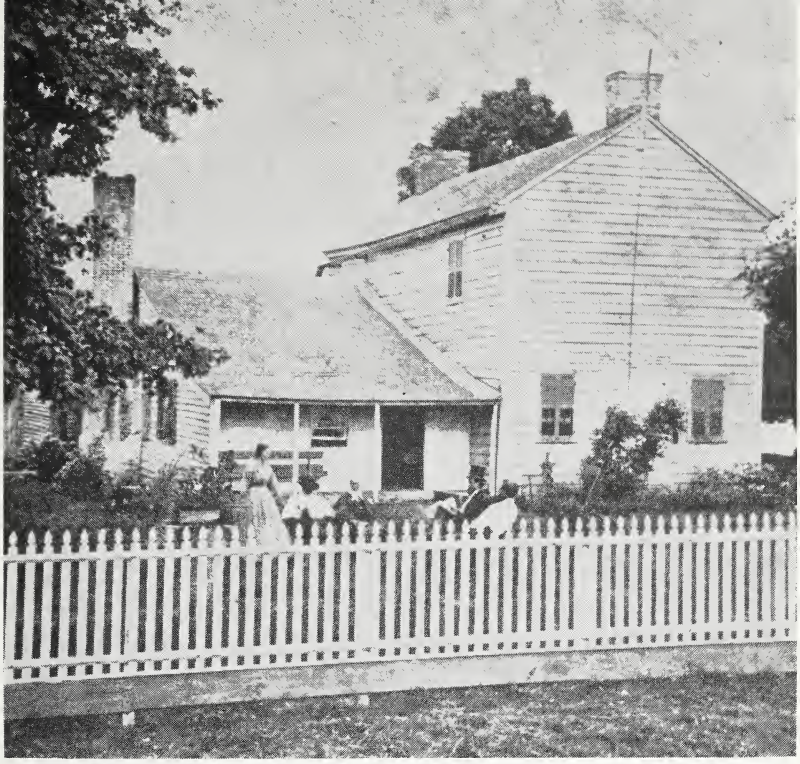
When, on August 3, 1837, the citizens of Athens gave a public dinner for the Sangamon County members (better known as the "Long Nine") of the state legislature, the celebration was held on the second floor of Colonel Rogers' building. Lincoln was present and heard Henry C. Rogers offer the following two toasts:

> Our delegation of the Last General Assembly. Their valuable services merit of their constituents the highest praise. May they be remembered should they offer their services again to the citizens of Sangamon.
>
> Our Systems of Internal Improvement and Education. Both emimently calculated to elevate the character, promote the happiness, and wealth of the citizens of our state. We wish them the greatest possible success.[21]

After Lincoln was finally established in Springfield, apparently he still did legal work for the Rogers family. In

20. M. L. Houser, *Abraham Lincoln, Student: His Books* ([Peoria, Ill.], 1932), 19.

21. *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield), Aug. 12, 1837.



The Harry Riggin home, about a mile and a half north of Athens, Illinois. This picture was taken probably in the 1870's — the house has since been torn down. The people barely discernible in the picture are, left to right: Eliza Riggin (daughter), Harry Riggin, Mrs. Harry Riggin, unidentified man in high hat, and Augustus K. Riggin (son).

the Herndon-Weik Collection in the Library of Congress is a bill written and filed by Lincoln in the Sangamon Circuit Court, January 29, 1841, in the case of *Rogers* v. *Francis*. Lincoln, representing Rogers, won the case on December 3, 1841, when the court awarded his client certain lands in payment of notes of Josiah Francis and a Mr. Sandford. The next year Lincoln was Henry C. Rogers' attorney when Rogers, as administrator of the estate of John W. Little, petitioned the court to sell about six acres of land adjoining the town of Athens.

By the 1840's the Rogers family had become more divided politically. Henry C. Rogers and Amberry Rankin were

strong Whigs and supporters of Lincoln. Rankin was elected sheriff of Menard County in 1844 and again in 1846. The Riggin family, however, were very stanch Democrats. Augustus K. Riggin, son of Harry and Miriam Rogers Riggin, was elected circuit clerk of Menard in 1852 and 1856. He was a close personal friend of William H. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner.[22]

Even though some of the family differed with Lincoln politically, an idea of what they thought of him can be derived from Harry Riggin's statement to his son Augustus during a session of the Menard Circuit Court in 1842: "I wish I could raise a son as big as Lincoln is bound to be if he lives. I have heard all these men at the bar and on the stump for some years and Lincoln is the greatest of them all. I say this to you my son, though I am a Democrat."[23]

In a letter to his nephew, on October 21, 1860, Henry C. Rogers described Lincoln, whom he had seen in Springfield:

> Politics run high. Lincoln is running ahead and I hope will be elected. I saw him last week, he is in fine health and spirits and takes the attention of his friends kindly and well. Thousands shake hands with him and numerous letters are addressed to him from all parts of the country south as well as north. Should he be the next president I have no doubt but that he will be abundantly popular south as well as north. Abraham is the man for the times. All the humbugs about Negro equality amalgamation to the contrary notwithstanding.[24]

However, Robert G. Rogers, son of Dr. Timothy Rogers and a grandson of the Colonel, wrote from Liberty, Mississippi, less than three months later:

> If Abe Lincoln were to visit New Orleans or any other southern

22. R. D. Miller, *Past and Present of Menard County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1905), 234.

23. Herndon's MS notes of conversation with Augustus K. Riggin, Herndon-Weik Collection, microfilm in Ill. State Hist. Lib.

24. Original in author's possession.

city today he would not live to set his foot on shore. I would scalp the old rascal myself if I could get a chance and if he values his life he had better not go to Washington. All the southern states are making more or less preparation for war. God knows what will be the the end of this struggle. The prices of Negroes does not seem to be affected by the crisis. I saw a Negroe man sold a few days ago on a credit of 12 months for $1950 and I bought a woman 40 years old for $900 cash.[25]

In the war which broke out soon after he wrote, Robert G. Rogers lost three brothers, all of whom served in the Confederate Army.

At Colonel Rogers' death, August 14, 1847, he left a large family, both North and South. While the northern branch of the family, around Athens, was divided politically, few were as strongly abolitionist as Henry C. Rogers although, generally, they were against slavery.

On the other hand, the Colonel's three sons in the South had become owners of large plantations and, consequently, owners of large numbers of slaves. Their views on slavery were as truly Southern as those of families who had been there for generations. In fact, some of the Rogers family in the South were among the earliest advocates of secession.

How much influence, if any, this family had on the life of Lincoln during his formative years at New Salem may now be impossible to tell. How many books from their library Lincoln may have used may also be impossible to tell. But this much we can with certainty say: That this family probably had more books available for Lincoln's use than any other single family near New Salem. That this family — with its widely disparate views on religion and politics, but with its close family ties and affection — would have been stimulating to one of Lincoln's inquisitive nature.

25. Letter of Jan. 12, 1861; original in author's possession.

STEPHEN E. AMBROSE

Lincoln and Halleck: A Study in Personal Relations

A native of Decatur, Illinois, Stephen E. Ambrose is now working on his Ph.D. degree under Dr. William B. Hesseltine at the University of Wisconsin. He has written a biography of Henry W. Halleck for which he will soon be seeking a publisher.

WHY, STUDENTS have often wondered, did Abraham Lincoln keep Henry W. Halleck as his general-in-chief from July, 1862, until March, 1864? Halleck was — diarists, participants and contemporary narrators, as well as later historians, charge — incompetent, inefficient, destitute of orginality, afraid to take responsibility and, in general, a hindrance rather than a help to the Union cause.[1] The retention of Halleck has become more mysterious with the growing respect for Lincoln's stature as a military strategist. In despair, Lincoln scholars, generally blind to the reasons for the President's tenacity in holding onto "Old Brains," have almost unanimously decided that Halleck was not worthy of their attention. Through the years, Halleck has become an embarrassment to the Lincoln epic — the single noteworthy exception to Lincoln's ability to select talented advisers.

Thus Colin R. Ballard, in *The Military Genius of Abra-*

1. For examples, see Gideon Welles, *Diary of Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy under Lincoln and Johnson* (Boston, 1911), I: 383-84; George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story* . . . (New York, 1887), 137; Oliver Otis Howard, *Autobiography* . . . (New York, 1907), I: 266; Adam Gurowski, *Diary, 1863-'64-'65*, III (Washington, 1866): 297.

ham Lincoln, passed Old Brains off as insignificant. "There is . . . no evidence," he wrote, "that his [Halleck's] advice had any weight either for good or evil in the big questions. . . . [He] dealt chiefly with matters of routine."[2] T. Harry Williams, in *Lincoln and His Generals,* dealt more closely and more objectively with Halleck, but still concluded: "He [Halleck] was supreme commander in name but rarely in fact. . . . His tenure of command . . . did not work out well because he disliked responsibility and did not want to direct." Williams acknowledged that Lincoln learned from the experiment of Halleck as general-in-chief and later used the knowledge, but he did not discuss the reasons for Lincoln's retention of Halleck.[3] Old Brains still remained an embarrassment to the cult of Lincoln scholars.

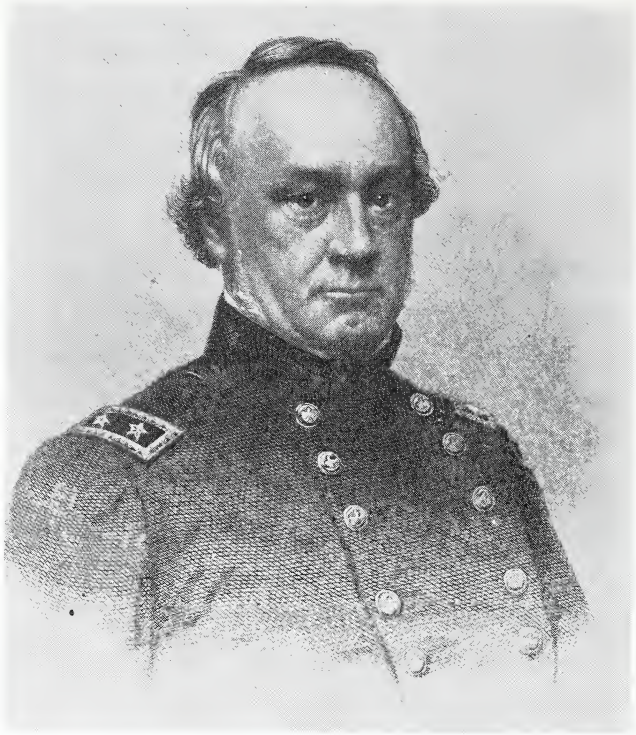
Actually, the Lincoln-Halleck relationship *adds* significant evidence to the case for Lincoln's genius in selecting and using his subordinates. Halleck was highly valuable to Lincoln as a military adviser — the general-in-chief was one of America's few experts on the art of war.[4] But Halleck's greatest contribution to Lincoln's strength was political. Old Brains allowed Lincoln to use him as a buffer. When Lincoln decided to fire a general or take an unpopular action, he had Halleck sign the order; supporters of the dismissed general (and in the Union Army almost every general had political allies) would blame Halleck for the action.

The "act" convinced spectators, because Lincoln played his part so well; he liked to assume a pose of weakness and

2. Ballard, *Military Genius of Lincoln* (New York, 1952), 116.

3. Williams, *Lincoln and His Generals* (New York, 1952), 136.

4. See Henry Wager Halleck's *Elements of Military Art and Science . . .* (New York, 1846), one of the few American contributions to the higher art of war either before or after the Civil War. Halleck also translated some of the writings of Baron Henri Jomini, the Swiss interpreter of Napoleon.



General Henry W. Halleck

simplicity and to give the impression that others were controlling him. When friends inquired about a military move, Lincoln would say, "I wish not to control. That I now leave to Gen. Halleck," or "You must call on Gen. Halleck, who commands. . . ."[5] The General-in-chief usually said nothing. He knew that, as long as Lincoln supported him, his position was unassailable. Besides, he found that he could shape events from behind the scenes, sometimes against Lincoln's wishes – and always in favor of fellow West Pointers when they differed with the political soldiers.

5. Lincoln to McClellan, Aug. 29, 1862, in Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), V: 399; Lincoln to Boyle, July 13, 1862, *ibid.*, 321.

Before he went to Washington in 1862, Halleck saw Lincoln in the same light as did Major General George B. McClellan. The President, Halleck thought, was a typical politician, who, though relatively harmless, was still an incompetent military director.

Never one to place personal pride before country, Lincoln — after appraising Halleck's record in the West — decided to bring him to Washington as general-in-chief. When the President demoted McClellan, in March, 1862, to head of the Army of the Potomac, the Union had no supreme commander. It was fighting the war in a piecemeal fashion with no co-ordination between armies. The cause needed a guiding hand, a lack that Lincoln, trying to function as both commander-in-chief and general-in-chief, recognized. The President needed not only skillful advice but also a buffer for protection from the politicians who were gleefully criticizing his military arrangements. Others saw the problem and were free with advice. John Pope, whom Lincoln had just called to Washington from the West, told the worried President: "If Halleck were here, you would have . . . a competent advisor who would put this matter right." Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, an old acquaintance of Halleck's, agreed with Pope,[6] as did Governor William Sprague of Rhode Island, who had just visited Halleck.[7] So did Winfield Scott, America's oldest, and at one time its best, soldier.[8] Although Lincoln fretted about Halleck's recent actions, he was impressed by the General's earlier success in the West and by the military knowledge revealed in the General's book *Elements of Military Art*

6. Welles, *Diary*, I: 119.

7. Sprague to Lincoln, July 5, 1862, Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

8. Williams, *Lincoln and His Generals*, 134-35.

and Science. Old Brains had decisively proven his administrative ability in St. Louis; yet during the campaign against Corinth, Mississippi, in May, 1862, he had demonstrated an utter lack of any fighting urge. Obviously the General was better fitted for an administrative chair than a saddle.[9] On July 11, 1862, Lincoln made Halleck general-in-chief, commander of all the Union land forces. In less than two weeks Halleck arrived in Washington to assume his duties.[10]

It was the first meeting between the two men, who were to spend so much time together. Lincoln probably was disappointed with the short, pudgy, pop-eyed, middle-aged figure, who looked more like a professor of chemistry (which he had once been) than a dashing soldier.[11] Hiding any feelings he might have had, Lincoln got right to work. He planned to use Halleck, and he began almost as soon as the hand-shaking ceremonies were over, by giving the General a ticklish problem.

The President wanted to remove McClellan and his Army of the Potomac from the unhealthy swamps around the James River, where they had recently been roughly handled by Robert E. Lee — but if the President, as commander-in-chief, ordered the move, the political repercussions might ruin the administration, for McClellan enjoyed warm, active support from the War Democrats. His troops, on leaving the Peninsula, would go into Pope's newly formed Army of Virginia, and Pope, whose fiery pronouncements to his army

9. *Ibid.*, 136.

10. Stanton to Halleck, July 11, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. 3, p. 314; Lincoln to Halleck, July 14, 1862, *ibid.*, 321; Halleck to Stanton, July 27, 1862, *ibid.*, 337.

11. For descriptions of Halleck, see *New York Herald*, July 21, 1862; Lew Wallace, . . . *An Autobigraphy* (New York, 1906), II: 570; James Harrison Wilson, *Under the Old Flag* . . . (New York, 1912), I: 98-99; William E. Doster, *Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War* (New York, 1915), 178.

indicated that he was a convert to Radical Republicanism, was anathema to the Democrats. If Lincoln sent McClellan's men to Pope, Democrats would scream that the President was playing politics with the army. However, if Halleck issued the order, Lincoln could claim that his hands were clean. So the President ordered Halleck to visit McClellan and examine the situation, instructing Halleck to offer McClellan 20,000 reinforcements – if McClellan did not think he could take Richmond with that number, Halleck was to order the withdrawal from the Peninsula.[12]

Halleck spent a day with McClellan on the James, and "Little Mac," to everyone's surprise, said he would try to take Richmond with the additional 20,000 men. McClellan realized he had not placated his superiors: "I *know* that the rascals will get rid of me as soon as they dare," he complained to a friend and added bitterly, "Halleck remained but a few minutes (comparatively) here and saw *nothing* of the Army – departed just as wise as he came."[13]

For once, McClellan was right. Lincoln was determined to pull the army from the Peninsula and was ready to use any pretext to achieve his purpose. Halleck was his foil in the operation. The day after Old Brains returned to Washington, McClellan wired: "Can you not possibly draw 15,000 or 20,000 men from the West to re-enforce me temporarily?"[14] On the basis of this request, Lincoln decided to execute the withdrawal of McClellan's army. To Halleck fell the responsibility of making out the order and justifying the action. In doing so, the General-in-chief in-

12. Halleck's memorandum for the Sec. of War, July 27, 1862, *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. 3, p. 337.

13. McClellan to Barlow, July 30, 1862, in George B. McClellan MSS, Library of Congress.

14. McClellan to Halleck, July 26, 1862, *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. XI. Pt. 3, p. 334.

vented the fiction that McClellan had said he "required" the men. Since the War Department could not furnish them, it had no choice – Halleck had to order McClellan out of the Peninsula.[15] Lincoln had his cake and was eating it too; McClellan was out of the Peninsula, and Halleck was being damned by the Democrats as McClellan's enemy. Fortunately for the President, Halleck never openly complained or explained the true basis of the command decision. Instead he confined himself to writing to his wife. Lincoln and his advisers had told him to remove McClellan, he said. "In other words they want[ed] me to do what they were afraid to attempt."[16]

Lincoln soon had another opportunity to use Halleck as a political shield. After Pope's defeat at Second Bull Run in August, 1862, Halleck placed McClellan in charge of the demoralized troops streaming into Washington. When McClellan had finished organizing the men in the entrenchments, Halleck asked him who had been nominated for future command. If Lee invaded the North, as he seemed likely to do, the army would have to march out to meet him. But McClellan replied that he had not designated a successor because he was willing to take command in person if the enemy invaded. Halleck informed Little Mac that his authority did not extend beyond the defenses of the capital and that no decision had yet been made as to who would lead the army when it took the field.[17]

15. Halleck wrote the Secretary of War on Nov. 25 that "immediately on my return to Washington . . . [McClellan] telegraphed that he would require 35,000," which was not true and stacked the deck against McClellan; *ibid.*, Vol. XII, Pt. 2, p. 5. Halleck's statement before the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War is more accurate; see Senate Report 108, 37 Cong., 3 Sess., I: 452.

16. Halleck to his wife, Aug. 9, 1862, in James Grant Wilson, "General Halleck, a Memoir," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States,* XXXVI (1905): 537.

17. *McClellan's Own Story,* 549.

Lincoln, however, had decided that McClellan was the only competent general available for command. On the morning of September 2, he and Halleck called upon McClellan at the latter's house. Lincoln diagnosed the situation as bad and, according to Halleck, said to McClellan: "General, you will take command of the forces in the field." McClellan later claimed, probably falsely, that Lincoln had said Washington was lost and asked if he would take over, as a favor to the President. McClellan replied that he would. The whole thing came as a surprise to Halleck.[18]

But Lincoln, after making a decision that angered the very vocal Radicals in his own party, gradually changed his story until the stigma came to rest with Halleck. On the afternoon of September 2, Lincoln told his Cabinet that Halleck had agreed to McClellan's appointment and that the General-in-chief supported the President's views.[19] On September 8 Lincoln told Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles "that Halleck had turned to McClellan and advised that he should command the troops against the Maryland invasion. 'I could not have done it,' said he [Lincoln], 'for I can never feel confident that he [McClellan] will do anything effectual.' "[20] Two days later the President flatly stated that McClellan's reinstatement was "Halleck's doings."[21] And most political leaders in the capital believed Halleck had decided upon and given the order.[22]

The Lincoln-Halleck relationship reveals more than Lincoln's known abilities as a politician. It also reveals Lin-

18. *Ibid.*, 535; Senate Report 108, 37 Cong., 3 Sess., I: 451.
19. Welles, *Diary,* I: 104-5.
20. *Ibid.*, 116.
21. *Ibid.*, 122.
22. See John Sherman to W. T. Sherman, Sept. 23, 1862, in Rachel Sherman Thorndike, ed., *The Sherman Letters: Correspondence between General and Senator Sherman from 1837 to 1891* (New York, 1894), 164. Also Welles, *Diary,* I: 134.

coln's ability to dominate even a man who was supremely confident and accustomed, himself, to dominating others. Halleck was a highly successful businessman in California when the Civil War began. He had played a large part in shaping the constitution of the Bear-Flag State and had turned down offers to serve as governor or senator.[23] Soon after the war began, he re-entered military service and was assigned to command the Department of the Missouri, which he used as a base for a series of intrigues that eventually resulted in a larger command.[24] Yet shortly after going to Washington, as has been noted, Halleck let Lincoln use him.

He also learned from Lincoln. Before coming into contact with the President, Halleck was definitely opposed to the theory that political expediency should take precedence over military necessity. Whether or not he knew of it, Lincoln intuitively followed one of Clausewitz' doctrines — that war is merely an extension of politics — and persuaded Halleck to go along with this point of view. For instance, before he went to Washington, Halleck had been asked by Andrew Johnson when his army would redeem East Tennessee. "The head must be attended to first and the toenails afterwards," Halleck had replied.[25] But since the unionists in the area were suffering under Confederate control, and since they would vote Republican, Lincoln wanted them freed. Consequently, just before Major General Ulysses S. Grant went to Chattanooga in late 1863, Halleck told him his great object was to free the loyal inhabitants of East Tennessee. Halleck's motives for desiring the area were neither

23. Milton H. Shutes, "Henry Wager Halleck, Lincoln's Chief-of-Staff," *California Historical Society Quarterly,* XVI (1937): 196 ff.

24. Halleck to McClellan, Feb. 24, 1862, McClellan MSS.

25. Halleck to Andrew Johnson, June 5, 1862, Andrew Johnson Papers, Library of Congress.

humanitarian nor political, he claimed, but military. Demonstrating to Lincoln that political motives could be substantiated with military rationalizations, Halleck said that East Tennessee contained agricultural products and iron the Confederates were using to their advantage — these resources must be denied the enemy. Although northern Alabama contained identical resources, neither Lincoln nor Halleck thought of occupying that section.[26]

International diplomacy also drew Halleck away from military necessity. After the fall of Vicksburg in July, 1863, Grant wanted to move his army on Mobile. But Lincoln and Seward wanted to take Texas since they feared Napoleon III's puppet Maximilian in Mexico. Harking back to the Monroe Doctrine, they told the Frenchman that Washington did not look upon his activities with favor. Accordingly, when Port Hudson, Louisiana, capitulated to Nathaniel P. Banks after the fall of Vicksburg, Halleck ordered Banks to clean out southwestern Louisiana and prepare for an expedition into Texas, for which reinforcements were sent from Grant's army.[27] Banks himself did not want to march away from the heart of the war; he, too, wanted to take Mobile. Halleck appreciated the military importance of the Alabama port, but there were "reasons other than military" for moving into Texas. "We have no choice," Halleck said, "but must carry out the views of the Government."[28]

Although he was often used by Lincoln, Halleck found many compensations in the position of general-in-chief.

26. Halleck to Grant, Oct. 20, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 652-53.
27. Halleck to Banks, July 24, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. 1, pp. 667-69.
28. Halleck to Banks, Aug. 12, 1863, *ibid.*, 675.

The most satisfying of these was the chance to prevent amateurs from gaining martial glory. Halleck disliked many politicians, and he hated politician-soldiers with a hate that only a West Pointer could understand. He felt fully reimbursed for all his travail when he was able to keep an amateur out of an important command.

John A. McClernand was just the sort of politician-soldier Halleck detested. An erstwhile volunteer general from Illinois, with a record of loyalty to the Democratic Party in that state, McClernand wanted to parlay his friendship with Lincoln into a high post. He had previously appealed to McClellan and been snubbed,[29] but he finally sniffed the political breeze and caught the aroma of Republicanism. Although he had fought to gain his position on the staff of the Republican governor of Illinois, Richard Yates,[30] McClernand had no thought of rotting in Springfield while honor and fame awaited him in another field. He cast his eye on the most coveted catch on the Mississippi River, Vicksburg, and dreamed of bringing it down single-handedly. He wanted an independent command, with orders to take the city, and left Illinois for Washington on September 23, 1862, to begin intriguing for that purpose. Lincoln granted him an interview, and McClernand laid a fascinating proposal before his old political enemy. He bemoaned the closing of the Mississippi by a "small, indeed comparatively insignificant garrison at Vicksburg," and promised to open the river with a force of 60,000. After that, he would move straight east and take Atlanta, or, if the President preferred, he would head west and besiege Texas.[31]

29. McClernand to McClellan, Nov. 5, 1861, John A. McClernand Collection, Illinois State Historical Library.

30. Yates to McClernand, Aug. 19, 1862, *ibid.*

31. McClernand to Lincoln, Sept. 28, 1862, *ibid.*

Lincoln swallowed McClernand's panacea. He needed more Democratic support for his administration, and he did want the river opened. The professionals, Grant and Sherman, had tried and failed. On October 9 Lincoln informed Halleck of his decision: McClernand would head a land and naval expedition, which would be raised by the General in the western states. His headquarters would be in Springfield.[32] Old Brains objected to the entire plan and did win a minor concession — the force would remain subject to his orders and would be employed "according to such exigencies as the service, in his judgment, may require."[33]

After McClernand left Washington, Halleck began to cut him down. While McClernand happily collected troops in Springfield, Halleck just as happily ordered them down to Helena, Arkansas, or to Memphis. The men reported to Grant, who was in command of the forces in West Tennessee.[34] McClernand thought Halleck was co-operating.

Meanwhile, Halleck wondered what he should do with Grant in this ticklish situation. If he told Grant what Lincoln had done, the constantly simmering feud between the

32. Stanton to Halleck, Oct. 11, 1862, *ibid.* The facts concerning Halleck's part in the McClernand expedition have been confused by historians. It is not true that Halleck had no information about the scheme until December. He probably knew of it from the first — at any rate, he was informed at least by Oct. 9, 1862. Stanton's letter to Halleck read: "I have requested General McClernand to call upon you, and receive such instructions, as you deem proper, in relation to the subject discussed with the President on Thursday [Oct. 9]." This letter is in the McClernand Coll. in Springfield; on the back of the letter is a note written and signed by McClernand: "That subject was an Expedition of Land & Naval Forces to clear the Miss. river &c."

33. Confidential order of Stanton, Oct. 21, 1862, McClernand Coll. McClernand spoke of Halleck's objection in a letter to O. H. Browning, Dec. 16, 1862, O. H. Browning Papers, Ill. State Hist. Lib.

34. Halleck to Yates, Oct. 27, Halleck to Wright, Oct. 27, Halleck to Yates, Oct. 30, 1862, *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, pp. 298, 309.

professionals and the volunteers might boil over. Still, Grant had to be primed for the theft of McClernand's hard-earned troops. Halleck tried to solve the problem by ignoring it. When he informed Grant of the reinforcements coming from Springfield to Memphis, Halleck said the Tennessee city would be the depot for a joint army and navy expedition on Vicksburg. He did not mention McClernand.[35] But Grant had heard rumors floating down from Springfield and asked Halleck for a clarification of his position.[36] Halleck did not hedge in his reply: "You have command of all troops sent to your department, and have permission to fight the enemy where you please."[37] Four days later he told Grant the movement down the river must leave Memphis "as soon as sufficient force can be collected."[38]

With good cause McClernand was beginning to be suspicious — he suspected a nefarious plot to countermand his mission. Could the President have turned against him? Anxiously he asked Illinois politicians in Washington to find out.[39] O. H. Browning rushed to the Executive Mansion to discover if the state's favorite son had changed his attitude toward the state's self-professed military genius. Lincoln calmed Browning, and McClernand received a message designed to set his mind at rest: "He [Lincoln] says so far from any purpose of superceding you existing, both he and the Secretary of War are very anxious for you to have command. . . . You are in no danger."[40]

Lincoln may have been "very anxious" for McClernand to have the command, but Halleck forged ahead, completely

35. Halleck to Grant, Nov. 10, 1862, *ibid.*, Pt. 1, pp. 468-69.

36. Grant to Halleck, Nov. 10, 1862, *ibid.*, 469.

37. Halleck to Grant, Nov. 11, 1862, *ibid.*

38. Halleck to Grant, Nov. 15, 1862, *ibid.*, 470.

39. McClernand to Yates, Nov. 20, 1862, McClernand Coll.

40. Browning to McClernand, Dec. 2, 1862, *ibid.*

ignoring the General's existence. On December 5 he told Grant to collect his troops by December 20, when they would leave for Vicksburg.[41] Two days later he informed Grant that he could use the men as he deemed "best to accomplish the great object in view," and again gave Grant control of all excess troops in his department.[42] The next day Grant told Halleck that William T. Sherman would command the expedition.[43] Halleck, of course, failed to inform McClernand of the date the expedition would leave.

McClernand, meanwhile, let his romantic ardor triumph over his desire for military glory, and prepared to enter wedlock. His bride would accompany him on the triumphal march he was zealously anticipating. On December 12 the prospective bridegroom informed Stanton he was "anxiously awaiting" the order to send him forward. Lincoln received a similar request; Halleck did not.[44]

Stanton was surprised when he read McClernand's note. He thought Halleck had already given the necessary orders, and promised to "have the matter attended to without delay."[45] Stanton's message confirmed McClernand's forebodings, and he immediately wired Halleck, begging the General-in-chief to send him to command the Mississippi expedition.[46] Then he wrote Browning and asked him to see Lincoln and clear the matter. "Satisfied that the President and Secretary of War favor me, as the commander of the Expedition," McClernand believed the General-in-chief was his "personal enemy – and senselessly so." "My state

41. Halleck to Grant, Dec. 5, 1862, *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 1, p. 473.

42. Halleck to Grant, Dec. 7, 1862, *ibid.*

43. Grant to Halleck, Dec. 8, 1862, McClernand Coll.

44. McClernand to Stanton, and Lincoln, Dec. 12, 1862, McClernand Coll.

45. Stanton to McClernand, Dec. 15, 1862, *ibid.*

46. McClernand to Halleck, Dec. 16, 1862, *ibid.*

of uncertitude is cruel," he said. "It is humiliating to the last degree. . . . Learn and let me know my fate!" Then McClernand revealed his perspicacity: "I think I understand the Genl in Chief as well as any man living. I think he designs to give the command of the Expedition to Sherman."[47]

On December 20 Sherman did take the troops McClernand had so hopefully forwarded to Memphis and set sail for Vicksburg. At the time, McClernand was ceremoniously entering the state of matrimony. The next day, with Sherman and the troops safely down river, Halleck told McClernand to take charge of the expedition. It was, McClernand later recalled, "the first and only recogntion, and that an indirect one, which the General-in-Chief had ever made of my connection with the expedition." The indirect recognition did not even give the politician-soldier permission to leave Springfield. On December 23, however, McClernand and his admiring bride took the train for Memphis. On the day McClernand arrived there, Sherman fought the decisive battle of the campaign before Vicksburg.[48]

When he learned what had happened, McClernand charged Halleck with "wilful contempt of superior authority [Lincoln's], and with utter incompetency for the extraordinary and vital functions with which he is charged as Genl-in-Chief."[49] McClernand did not charge that Halleck failed to take responsibility. Lincoln tried to pacify the General, telling him he was doing well: "Well for the country, and well for yourself — much better than you could possibly be, if engaged in open war with Gen. Halleck."[50]

47. McClernand to Browning, Dec. 16, 1862, Browning Papers.

48. McClernand to Stanton, Jan. 3, 1863, *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, p. 528.

49. McClernand to Lincoln, Jan. 7, 1863, as cited in *Collected Works,* VI: 72.

50. Lincoln to McClernand, Jan. 22, 1863, *ibid.,* 71.

Other criticisms of Halleck began to appear. "The Loyal People of St. Louis" petitioned the President to remove Halleck, because "we believe him to be devoid of the military talent attributed to him by some, [and] incompetent."[51] One of Lincoln's "old and true friends," Isaac Arnold of Illinois, assured the President that Halleck "has lost the confidence of the people."[52] Even one of McClellan's aides, one of the few persons who knew the full story, thought Halleck's treatment of McClernand shabby.[53] Old Brains had accomplished the impossible — conservatives and radicals, Democrats and Republicans had joined together to denounce the General-in-chief.

Lincoln may have smiled as he read the complaints — everybody was angry with Halleck. Many of the actions for which the critics were deriding Halleck had been taken at the President's direction. Politically, Old Brains was one of the most valuable members of Lincoln's entourage. If he needed proof, the President knew his use of Halleck had been a success when he read a communiqué from Count Adam Gurowski, the self-appointed spokesman for the Radicals. "Mr. President," Gurowski appealed, "for God's and the country's sake read ponder an urgent and patriotic warning." "You have made a general from Halleck and you have instrusted him with power which would ruin any country."[54]

But Gurowski's biggest complaint, with which most of his party agreed, was that Halleck deliberately kept Radical generals away from important commands. Democrats, on

51. Memorial of May 10, 1863, Robert Todd Lincoln Coll.

52. Arnold to Lincoln, May 18, 1863, *ibid.*

53. Colburn to McClellan, Jan. 15, 1862 [1863], McClellan MSS.

54. Gurowski to Lincoln, n.d., Adam Gurowski Collection, Library of Congress.

the other hand, charged that Old Brains was keeping good party men out of the army. Lincoln, who really dictated policy, never thought of removing his buffer and taking the criticism himself. Even when he made Grant a lieutenant general in the regular army (March, 1864), Lincoln kept Halleck in Washington. Old Brains had requested that Grant be made general-in-chief of the army,[55] and Lincoln complied with the request, but he retained Halleck as chief-of-staff, with headquarters in Washington, while Grant went to the Army of the Potomac.

Lincoln had one more use for Halleck as general-in-chief. After Grant's appointment, Lincoln told his private secretaries that Halleck had stipulated, before taking command, that he be given "the full powers and responsibilities of general-in-chief." Halleck "kept that attitude until Pope's defeat, but ever since that event he has shrunk from responsibility whenever it was possible." In this statement the President made it clear that he held Halleck responsible for pulling McClellan from the Peninsula and for Pope's defeat, but not for the victories at Antietam, Gettysburg, Vicksburg or Chattanooga.[56] After guiding public opinion toward Halleck in his own time, Lincoln thus dictated the attitude he hoped historians would adopt in the future. And Halleck never complained; he was content to accept the criticism as long as he could shape the events he considered important. Lincoln had done an outstanding job of picking his subordinate.

55. Halleck to Stanton, March 9, 1864, Robert Todd Lincoln Coll.; see also Williams, *Lincoln and His Generals,* 301.

56. John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1890), VIII: 335.

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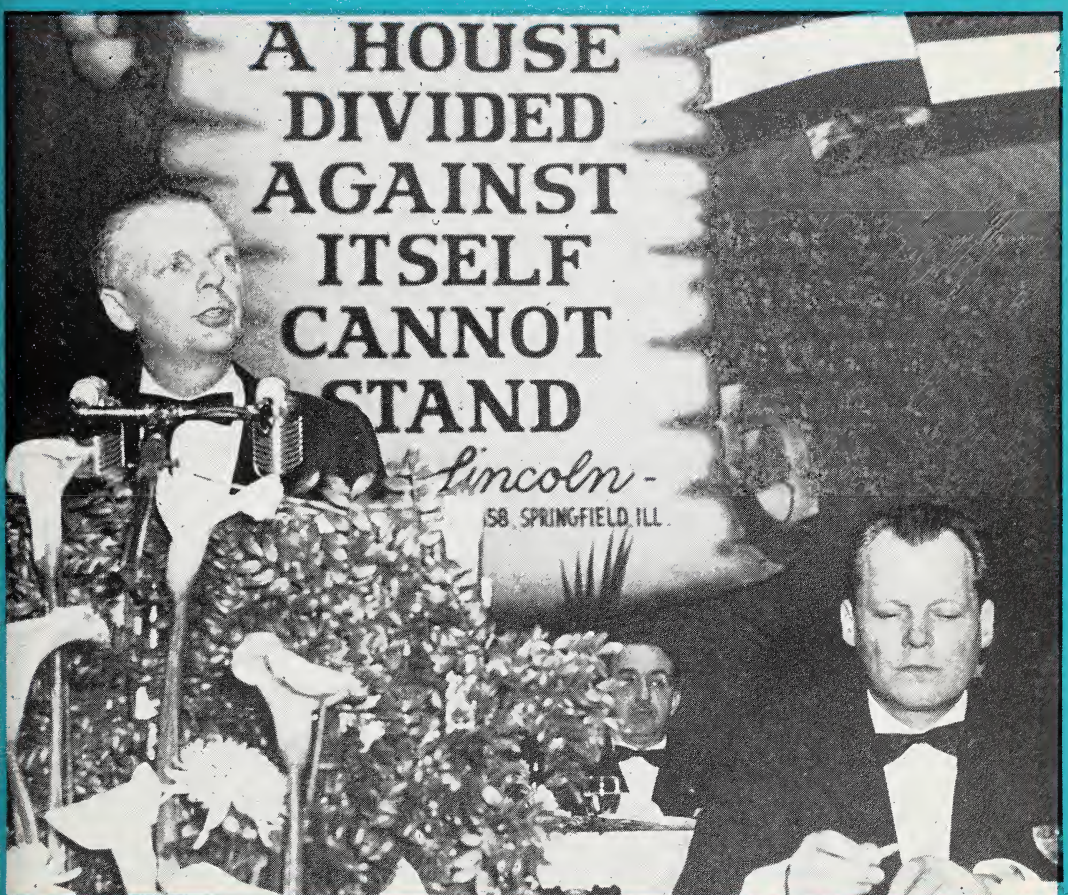

AT LINCOLN BANQUET *(See page 301)*

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CECIL D. EBY, JR.

"Porte Crayon" Meets General Grant

The author, Cecil D. Eby, Jr., was born in Charles Town, West Virginia, which is where his subject, "Porte Crayon," died — some years earlier, however. Eby is an associate professor of English at Madison College, Harrisonburg, Virginia, and lives at Port Republic — on the Civil War battlefield. His biography of "Porte Crayon" is scheduled for 1960 publication by the University of North Carolina Press.

IN 1885 FEW Virginians would have placed Ulysses S. Grant above Robert E. Lee in a selective list of notable Americans. While the Federal leader had been unfortunate during his term as President and had been disgraced by his speculations on Wall Street, the Confederate commander, as the head of Washington College, had led a postwar career characterized by the dignified role of a country squire. Surely the example of Lee was more worthy of emulation, more satisfactory for a biographer. However, David Hunter Strother, a Virginia writer then in retirement, was one who took exception to this general evaluation of each man:

It is easier to bear adversity than prosperity, therefore Lee had not only the easier part to play in maintaining his dignity in his misfortune, but his conduct was also more generously and indulgently judged. I have criticized him adversely for the negative position he occupied after the war, when a few wise and statesmanlike words might have been potent in soothing the miseries and difficulties of reconstruction. He never said a word, good or bad. Grant, on the contrary, has lived in the public eye ever since the surrender and under the most trying circumstances. His recent blamable

mistake which has blemished his dignity was undoubtedly caused more by his overweening and weak parental feeling than by any vulgar greed of gain. Where he erred was in desiring . . . the very doubtful distinction of being a stock-jobbing millionaire.[1]

General Grant had died on July 22 of that year; the time had come for an evaluation of Grant as soldier, statesman and man. In December, Strother leafed through the private notebooks that he had kept for the past quarter-century and from them transcribed all entries pertaining to his recollections of General Grant. From these he hoped to construct a personal reminiscence of the General which would in part help to counteract the tide of public disfavor into which the once-great man had drifted. Unfortunately, Strother did not complete his project; he had not written anything for six years, was tired from an active career of his own and was too advanced in years to effect a re-entry into magazine writing. However, in Strother's journals may be found his recollections of Grant, and these may be placed together for a full portrait. The result is of particular value because it concerns primarily a period of Grant's life which has been overlooked by his biographers — the General's two tours to Mexico in 1880 and 1881.

A word or two about David Strother is necessary. He was born at Martinsburg, Virginia, in 1816 and by the 1850's had become a well-known American literary figure. As "Porte Crayon," he ranged from New England to the Deep South in search of material for his travel articles in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* all of which were illustrated by his own drawings. When the Civil War began,

1. Journals of David H. Strother, Jan. 9, 1885. These journals are owned by Strother's grandson, Mr. D. H. Strother of Milwaukee, Wis., and used with his permission.

This self-portrait of "Porte Crayon" at work was made on one of his early trips up the Shenandoah Valley. The improvised shelter was formed with the shawls of his cousins, Minnie, Fanny and Dora, who accompanied him on the outing. (From Harper's New Monthly Magazine, *December, 1854.)*

he was at first reluctant to take up arms against either his state or his country, but when neutrality became untenable he entered the Federal Army as a civilian topographer. His familiarity with the territory of Virginia in which much of the war was fought made him of great value to commanders, and he served upon the staffs of Generals Patterson, Banks, Pope, McClellan, Kelley, Sigel and Hunter. He was promoted to the ranks of captain, lieutenant colonel, colonel and ultimately to brevet brigadier general. Following Hunter's raid upon Lynchburg in 1864, Strother left the army. After the war he was adjutant general of Virginia for a year, consul general to Mexico from 1879 to 1885 and

a contributor to *Harper's*. Until his death in 1888 he lived in Virginia, where his service in the Union Army was never forgiven.

Strother's close associations with military commanders had taught him to see generals not as infallible heroes but rather as human beings very susceptible to error and folly. If familiarity did not necessarily breed contempt, it did discourage illusions. Usually his comments upon public figures were limited to a few words scratched in his journal. He conversed with Lincoln, Winfield Scott, Andrew Johnson and a host of others — but none of these conversations made any forcible impression upon him. Yet his accounts of Grant included the most minute observations, leaving no doubt that Strother considered him to be the most representative man of the age. He felt that the rise and fall of Ulysses S. Grant was a peculiarly American tragedy. Grant was ruined by his very success. Had Strother completed his article, it would doubtless have shown the General as a victim of materialistic values in the post-Civil War era.

Twice before the Grants' Mexican tour, Strother had encountered the General. In the aftermath of Jubal Early's raid upon Washington, Grant came up from Petersburg to Monocacy Junction, Maryland, in order to iron out difficulties in the Department of West Virginia, commanded at that time by General David Hunter. Strother was Hunter's chief of staff and was an escort for Grant during his overnight visit. He met the General's special car and observed:

> Grant is a medium-sized, plain-looking and plain-mannered man with a reddish beard and a florid skin. He looks careworn and is smoking a segar. . . . His manner of speech is Western and Yankee. His face indicates firmness and his manner is quiet and cool. His general appearance is most unsoldierly.[2]

2. *Ibid.*, Aug. 5 and 6, 1864.

He had little time to reflect further upon the General, for Sheridan immediately afterward replaced Hunter, and Strother followed his commander into retirement. Then, during Grant's second term as President, Strother attended a levee at the White House, after which he wrote: "Big policeman Genl. Grant, wife, Mrs. Fish, and Babcock gave me a distinguished reception."[3] Except for the fact that the other guests were somewhat annoyed by the attention Grant showed "Porte Crayon" in a long private conversation, no other event of significance is mentioned in Strother's account of this meeting.

In September, 1879 the Grant party returned from its two-year world tour during which the General had been entertained and lionized in a manner unprecedented for an American public figure. Grant was at that time undecided about his future plans. A faction of the Republican Party was working to nominate him as its presidential candidate for a third term, but he was noncommittal. About then he was preparing for his Mexican trip, which was motivated by at least three considerations: He had heard of the excellent possibilities for financial speculation there, particularly in mining and railroads. Then, too, he was still restless from his world tour and wanted to see Cuba, Mexico and the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands. Finally, the prospect of revisiting the scenes of his campaigning in the Mexican War was inviting. Strother was then serving as consul general at Mexico City, and it was there that their friendship began.

Grant arrived at Vera Cruz on February 18, 1880. In his party were Mrs. Grant, Colonel and Mrs. Fred Grant

3. *Ibid.*, Feb. 12, 1873. Mrs. Hamilton Fish was the wife of President Grant's Secretary of State. Orville Babcock had been, during the war, a member of Grant's staff and was a personal adviser at this time.

and General and Mrs. Philip Sheridan. They traveled by rail to Mexico City and were lodged in the principal hotel, the Mineria. They remained in Mexico for nearly a month, and throughout their stay General Grant received the same kind of enthusiastic welcome that he had received on his world tour. On February 22, the American minister, John W. Foster, called upon the Grants with David Strother, who described the scene in his journal:

We entered the salon and waited a few minutes until the illustrious visitors came out from dinner. Mrs. Grant came first. She is stoutish, cross-eyed, and plain generally but with amiable and stylish manners. Next came the younger ladies. Mrs. Sheridan is fine-looking and Mrs. Fred Grant is a very handsome brunette. . . . Then came Genl. Phil Sheridan, a jolly caricature of himself as I had last seen him. We were introduced and he recalled the last time we had met. Then Genl. Grant and son entered. Col. Fred was a stout, jolly looking fellow, his face shining with fat. The General looked decidedly older and plainer than when I had last seen him and seemed to have lost the martial air he still retained when in the White House. I sat by Mrs. Grant and failed to strike a conversation, the ladies being all absorbed in Mrs. Foster's baby. I then joined the General with whom I had an hour's animated talk on Japan, China, and the consular service. He said Japan was really instituting a new era, reversing all her previous history and if not interfered with by European powers would succeed in changing the character of her civilization. China would not change until there had been a revolution dispossessing the Tartar race and restoring the true Chinese people to power. On our consular service he repeated the views lately published on that subject. He sees the weakness and contemptible economy of the system specially in its unfortunate comparison with the German and English. He says Italy is improving rapidly. Spain is in hopeless decadence. Of the United States he says there seemed to be more business and life than in all the rest of the world put together. There was besides more comfort in our houses, highways, hotels, and modes of living than in any country he had seen. This he spoke with some decision and warmth. Grant said all his life he had got his informa-

tion by the eye. Books did him little good as he could not remember what he read, never could memorize words, but had an excellent memory for what he had seen. I found him a ready and intelligent conversationalist, and altogether unpretending, earnest, and kindly in his manner.[4]

On the day following, more than a hundred officers and cadets called upon Grant at the Mineria, all desiring to meet the greatest general in the Americas. Clamoring throngs of Mexicans milled around the entrance to the National Palace while Grant paid an official call upon President Porfirio Díaz. And in the evening there was a dinner at the American legation in his honor. Although Mrs. U. S. Grant sought out Strother to compliment him upon his writings, the latter had no opportunity to speak with the General.

The American residents and other guests held a banquet in Grant's honor at the Tivoli of San Cosme on February 26. As Strother was chairman and principal speechmaker, he called with his committee to escort the General to the Gardens:

We drove to the Mineria, where we found Genl. Grant talking over the main events of the Mexican War. He was sharp on Worth as a jealous, conceited and captious person. He liked Taylor and Scott. Scott's move on Mexico [City] was in very bad judgment, he having chosen the route in which all the natural and artificial obstacles lay, when he might have marched in the other side without a battle. Grant was then a second lieutenant and was brevetted first lieutenant for good conduct at Chapultepec and captain for the San Cosme Gate. He said Shields was a brave man but a farceur as a soldier. Drove to the Tivoli of San Cosme, a pleasant place inside, fine trees and rural pavilions. The walls were decorated with American and Mexican flags and the portraits of Washington, Grant, and Lincoln, located as named. We conversed freely about Mexico, her people, politics, and prospects. He is

4. *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1880.

going to send his son Jesse, 22 years old, to examine the mining interests of Mexico. About the middle of the feast the toasts began. I rose and got off my speech better than I wrote it, changing the manuscript. It was well-received. . . . Grant intimated his gratitude that I had saved him a speech, but it was a premature congratulation, for the call was sounded and he responded briefly, but with words to the purpose. When he sat down amidst rounds of applause, he said to me, "Thank God that job is over." Genl. Sheridan was called up. He looked worried and hesitated, and after some dry remarks said if he had known that he would have been called on for a speech, he would have furnished himself with some of that paper currency that his friend General Strother and others had brought in their pockets, then he could have risen with a smile on his face. This hit stirred the table. I had repeated a Spanish proverb, "If speech is silver, silence is golden" — I had preferred gold myself, but being called on to speak must beg them to accept my Mexican currency. The General's witty allusion was received with hearty cheers. . . . [While leaving] I told General Grant I hoped he felt toward an entertainment like the Englishman who went to the opera, rather grateful he hadn't been bored as much as he had anticipated. He laughed, and declared he hadn't been bored at all. There were 80 or 85 persons present. On the porch the General couldn't find his hat, and hoped the man he had intrusted it with was sober. He found it presently and I asked him his measure — 7 3/8. He and his son were the same.[5]

President Díaz held a dinner for the Grants on March 1, and among the guests were Strother and his wife. Grant's financial interest in Mexico was brought out at this time, for he invited Strother to accompany him on a visit to the mines of Pachuca, arranged by Señor Romero. Strother wrote of the President's dinner:

Drove to the courtyard of the Palace just after Foster's carriage. A gallant usher in gold lace and buttons offered his arm to wife and escorted her up to the anteroom. We entered the reception room, paid our respects to President Diaz, Mrs. Mariscal, Mrs. Foster, and Countess Johanini. . . . The Grant party entered and the

5. *Ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1880.

General recognizing me saluted me cordially and was advancing to shake hands when I waved him on toward the President, to whom it was etiquette to pay his respects first. This over, Genl. Grant returned directly to me and opened conversation cheerfully and cordially, apologizing for not having called at the consulate, but saying he would come and have a social talk on Mexico and other matters. Then he said he and his gentlemen were going to Pachuca and Real del Monte on Wednesday and proposed to me to accompany them. I accepted, and Senor Romero was notified I should accompany them and it was so arranged. . . . Foster informed me that the New York delegation had been instructed to vote for Grant en masse. This he considered conclusive of Grant's election, as he had had the intimation from Mrs. Grant that the nomination would be accepted. Grant had been as usual reticent about the subject. As I stood talking with Genl. Grant, President Diaz approached with Marescal as interpreter and formally congratulated the General on the news. The General replied he thought General Diaz was a better friend than to felicitate him on his possible re-entry into political life. Then he said something about the uncertainty of election even if nominated. He took it all quietly, without any sham modesty and without permitting his intentions to appear. . . . The dinner was luxurious and substantial, about thirty courses, with superfluity of fine wines. It was very lively and social so that the chatter of voices drowned out the music of "Hail Columbia". . . . General Grant and the Colonel joined wife and self and had some social talk about health and some badinage about the married state. The General said he had learned to smoke in Mexico thirty-three years ago while soldiering.[6]

At that time, Foster was preparing to leave Mexico to accept a post at St. Petersburg. Grant attended a farewell dinner for the Minister on March 2; it is apparent from Strother's account of the affair that he and Grant were becoming congenial:

Genl. Grant asked my proper title. I told him it was General. He said he had been calling me Colonel, but would make up for it in future by calling me Lieutenant General. I thanked him and

6. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1880.

hoped I would never have the opportunity to earn that title in a war at home. He replied, "I hope so too sincerely. Neither you nor anyone else." Then came supper. I was seated between the two young wives and had my hands full. Mrs. Fred was lively and complimentary, insisting I must write a book on Mexico, as no one else could do it. Wife got off the following joke. General Sheridan had danced with Dixie Clarke and although the little lady is very pronounced in her Southern sympathies, she was very much pleased with the attention and boasted of it. Wife said, "It is not the first time Genl. Sheridan has made Dixie dance." The General laughed immoderately and Foster repeated it to the table.[7]

Grant's promised visit to the consulate took place on the following day. He spent a pleasant hour in private conversation with Strother, their talk being of war matters. The General made one of his rare criticisms of Robert E. Lee's ability as a soldier. In the Mexican War, he said, "Lee's celebrated reconnaissance was a mistake, and the worst way was chosen of all others, and we won by mere force of superior fighting."[8] To Strother's twelve-year-old son Grant reiterated his hope that there would never be any occasion to fight his own countrymen.

In the course of the next week Strother was continually with Grant during the visit to Pachuca and Puebla. Word of the visit had gone ahead, and the General was received with the same kind of ovation he had been given in Mexico City. Strother's favorable impressions of Grant's modesty, generosity, thoughtfulness and good humor were entirely confirmed by this extended intercourse. The trip, it should be noted, induced Grant to abandon his plan to invest in mining enterprises, for he realized that the introduction of heavy machinery was impractical in a country like Mexico, where labor was so cheap.

7. *Ibid.,* March 2, 1880. The allusion was, of course, to General Sheridan's depredations in the Valley of Virginia in 1864.

8. *Ibid.,* March 3, 1880.

Strother's journals treat the trip in much detail:

March 4th: We were off at 10 sharp in an English palace car, comfortable and substantial. The occupants consisted of General Grant and Sheridan, the Baron W., Col. Grant, Senor Romero, Alexander, Andrews, myself and the Japanese servant. Reached Huama Tusco at 11:30. Here landed and took the diligence. Alexander and Baron W. got on top of the coach with General Grant, Sheridan, and Romero.[9] Col. Fred, the Japanese, and myself got on the inside and had plenty of room. The Colonel talked of West Point, War, and Pa's campaigns with an affectionate vanity which rather pleased me. An escort of 30 or 40 rurales followed us, helping to kick up a stifling dust. . . .

About 1 o'clock the roads began to assume a festive look. There were arches over the way and flagpoles wreathed with flowers and greenery. These adornments at length culminated at a point where a branch road led to an extensive hacienda half a mile distant. There was at the junction an arch and a multitude of people on horseback and afoot, and this array extended all along the road to the hacienda, which seemed to be adorned with banners fluttering in the wind. As the diligence passed, the chiefs surrounded it and obsequiously extended their invitation to visit the hacienda. The General seemed disposed to go on, and declined the honor tendered. The people looked so disappointed and pressed their suit so urgently that it was at length concluded that it would be rude to reject so friendly demonstrations. So the horses' heads were put about and as the diligence drove under the arch, the whole road echoed with cheers of satisfaction. There were lines of foot soldiers about twenty yards apart, each standing at present arms in the most varied and ridiculously martial attitudes. Entering the hacienda gate, the bells in the chapel belfry rung a clattering welcome, fire crackers were let off, drums, trumpets, and a brass band lent their noise to the charivari. We were conducted to the dining hall, a lofty room quaintly frescoed, with pictures of the Mexican presidents and arms. . . .

At one end on a raised dais sat five minstrels, three guitars, one

9. Baron W. was doubtless a European diplomat. Señor Romero at one time represented Mexico in Washington. Byron Andrews was a reporter who seems to have been Grant's secretary during his Mexican trip. Alexander has not been identified.

fiddle, and a fife who on our entrance struck up with a twanging zeal that recalled the old baronial harpers. [After dinner] We were showed [*sic*] into the pulque room where were six or eight cowskin vats containing pulque in different stages of fermentation. Fred Grant and Andrews drank several bowls full, much to the delight of the Rancheros, who kept on dipping with amiable urgency. We got off again at 2:30 followed by the whole mounted population. Several hundred continued as a guard of honor, galloping and cavorting around the diligence until it was enveloped in dust clouds. . . .

The mayor and reception committees met us in Pachuca. The population was out en masse to welcome us. Cannon and music first, then some speeches read by the orators, then we were conducted to carriages. In this movement the mob rushed along so violently that I was separated from my company and at a gate several women and children were crushed against the fence and began to shriek. I called on the police to use their swords and staves, which they did and thus checked the headlong current. Not finding my company, I followed along after the music for some distance until spying Senor Romero in a carriage, I joined him and after a tedious passage through narrow streets, at length arrived at the princely house of Senor Landero.

At dinner here as always during the trip my seat was beside General Grant and as he ate little and drank nothing but water, the position offered me much opportunity for conversation. Speaking of drinking, he said he never kept whiskey in his tent during the War and rarely drank at all, only occasionally on some invitation of a brother officer or in case of sickness. He entered the army in 1861 without any ambitions, views, or aspirations, thinking only of his duty as a citizen and more continually of his wife and children. These occupied his thoughts day and night when not actively occupied in planning and campaigning. He then talked of the reforms and modernizing of Japan, said their progress was wonderful and would be a success if foreign nations abstained from interference. In short, the General talked frankly and with profound good sense upon many subjects imparting much information and confirming all my own opinions on many subjects which I had thought.

MARCH 5TH. The house in which we were lodged was palacial

Although the caption in Harper's Weekly *(April 17, 1880) says simply, "The Valley of Mexico from Chapultepec," the accompanying brief article tells of General Grant's visit to "The Battle-Fields of Mexico." The man in the foreground of this picture, gesticulating, could only be the General.*

[*sic*] in its size and appointments. Our host, Senor Landero, chief of the mining company, was eminently handsome and courtly as an ancient baron. . . . We visited the mine of San Juan, a vast agglomeration of massive masonry and machinery. The processes were not essentially different as far as I could see from those employed in North Carolina in the gold and copper regions. . . . The General stopped to caress the donkeys who had delivered their loads of ore. The little animals seemed to be pleased with the attention and laid their shaggy heads affectionately against his breast.

We then visited a very large establishment fitted with complete American machinery. It had scarcely been in operation at all and was now abandoned and rotting down. The Japanese servant here shrewdly observed that labour here was so cheap that they couldn't afford to use machinery. The remark made by a native of a country where labour earns but five cents a day was suggestive, and Genl. Grant at once applied it to Mexico. He had supposed the mines here had not been so successful because they had not used the advanced modern processes and machinery. After that he talked but little about the development of mining interests by improved machinery. . . .

The General hopes and believes that an era will arrive when wars will cease and society pursue its upward course without wars or bloodshed. Sheridan insists that this is all utopian. Man is a fighting animal and his highest qualities which rust and dwindle in peace are developed by war. I seconded him.

While at Pachuca, General Grant declined to attend a bullfight in his honor, he being averse to the amusement. He did continue to explore the mines at hand until March 8, when the party set off for Puebla, which featured an exposition. There he again disconcerted his hosts by refusing to see a bullfight. In the evening of March 11, they returned to Mexico City. Strother's account continues:

MARCH 8TH. Walked to the station with General Grant. A blind girl asked charity and the General pulled out a mido and a dollar. He gave her the dollar, saying he was ashamed to give the mido and had no less change. We discoursed on Andy Johnson, the General holding him in the same contempt that I do and agreeing that his conduct injured the healing process more than can be calculated. We also discoursed on the unification of Germany and Italy and the vast advantage of both to the civilization of other countries. . . . Took the train for Puebla. A heavy cloud settling over the crater of Popocatepetl produced the illusion that the volcano was in eruption so strongly that General Grant was deceived. Splendid quarters in a house on the main street, the fittings more sumptuous than anything I have yet seen in Mexico. I was roomed with General Sheridan.

MARCH 9TH. Drove with the General to the Exposition. The Grant party bought freely of the onyx ornaments. The General in telegraphing for his wife and other ladies yesterday urged me strongly to telegraph for Mrs. Strother to join us. I regret that I declined to do so. He repeated his invitation two or three times, but I failed to accept, which was a mistake. At night attending the theatre with the party, got separated going in, and sat in the pit, but the General sent a messenger to call me to the box. The play was dull, and at 10 o'clock I slipped home and went to bed.

MARCH 10TH. Dreamed last night of Berkeley Springs and poverty and then awoke with a dramatic start in my luxurious

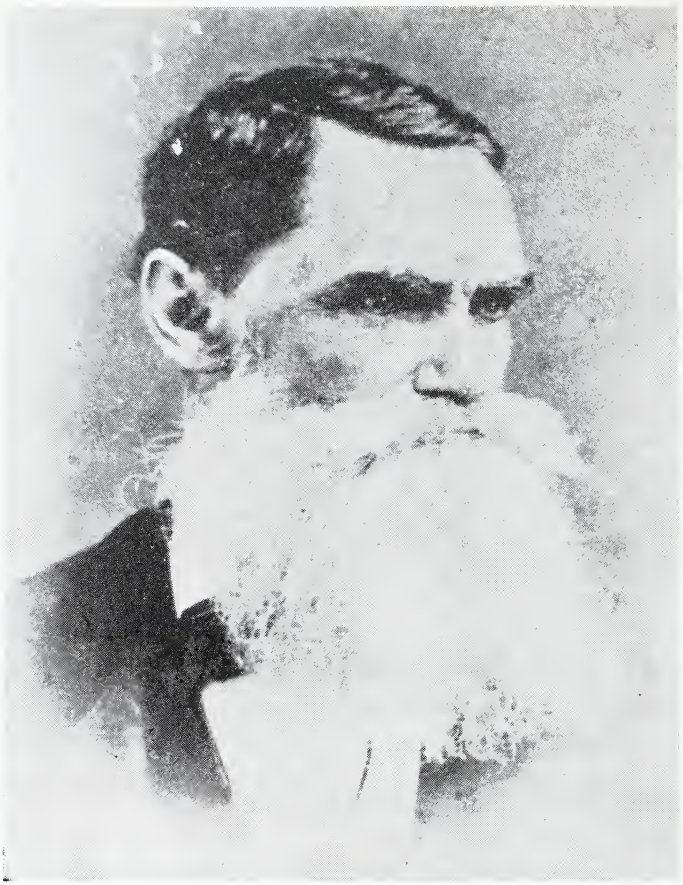
room. . . . Had a political talk with Col. Grant which assured me that the General will accept the nomination of the Republican Convention if made. Drove out with the General and Senor Romero to the Alameda Vieja where the General had been quartered during the occupation by the Americans in 1847. . . .

March 11th. Left Puebla. The trip to Apuzaco passed agreeably in conversation with the ladies, Mrs. Fred Grant and Miss Felt. The General joining in and making some lively comments of [*sic*] Miss Bright. Says he met her everyplace in his journey around the world. Here in Mexico she was the first person he recognized. Saw her in the interior of Japan traveling with a Japanese mozo dressed English fashion. He had intended to cross to Acapulco and visit the Sandwich Islands — no doubt he would have met her there. She knew everything and would permit no discussion. Reached Mexico at 12:15 and rode home in the street cars.[10]

On the day following, Grant called upon Strother at the consulate, and it is evident from Strother's comments that Grant was discouraged with the prospects of investment in Mexico. Strother accepted his invitation to visit the Mexican War battlegrounds with him on the next day:

March 13th. We left in a street car. Genl. Grant, Romero, Genl. Mejia, myself, Andrews, and the Japanese. On passing the fortress [Chapultepec] Genl. Grant remarked that on revisiting most scenes of his early life things always seemed to have dwindled, but those trees were grander and more impressive than when he had seen them 33 years ago. At the hacienda of San Antonia, Genl. Grant recognized the locality where he was posted while the battle of Contreras was fought. From the garden at La Fama we could overlook the Pedrigal fields and the route of Genl. Scott's army to Chapultepec and Molino. Two young men figured in that army, both winning gilded spurs and brevet, Lieutenant U. S. Grant and Captain Robert E. Lee. Both became afterwards the most renowned captains of their age. Lee, a traitor to his country, was defeated, surrendered, and after lingering a few years, died of a

10. Unofficial members of Grant's Mexican tour were Misses Felt and McKenna. Miss Bright was an independent woman who traveled the world alone and was frequently met by General Grant in his world tour.



David H. Strother, "Porte Crayon," as he appeared soon after his period of service in Mexico. (Photo courtesy Simeon Buzzerd, Berkeley Springs, W. Va.)

broken heart. Grant viewing the field in which he first served his country was faithful to his colours and lives the most famous and honored man of his age. . . . Genl. Grant has a high opinion of Phil Kearney as a soldier. Kearney advanced directly against the city of Mexico after Contreras and would have taken the place and thus saved Molino and Chapultepec battles, but an awkward shot carried off his arm and thus his column was checked and retired. The General is averse to the McClellan and Fitz John Porter class of soldier.

The Grants were delayed by a gale at Vera Cruz and did not leave Mexico until March 18. Strother paid them an-

other call on the day preceding their departure; at that meeting a possible third term in the White House figured prominently in the conversation, particularly in that of Mrs. Grant:

> March 17th. . . . Saw the Grant family. Talked with Madame about Washington and the regrets that followed them when they left there, suggesting the pleasure it would bring to a large circle to have them back. The General for the first time talked personal politics and spoke of his nomination as a responsibility and discussed the votes of different sections. He is in the prime of health and has before him ten years of available working life. The family without being demonstrative made no concealment of their desire to return to the White House. Talked pleasantly for half an hour and then took final leave, and the Grant visit is over. The whole having been a very interesting and agreeable episode in my life here.

Grant's hope of election to the presidency was short-lived. In June the Republican convention chose James A. Garfield on the thirty-sixth ballot, and Grant forever lost his opportunity. He accepted the presidency of the Mexican Southern Railway and removed to New York. In April, 1881 he returned to Mexico, presumably on business, and visited with Strother several times at the consulate. However, the fanfare which had accompanied his first trip was wholly absent; Grant seems to have been treated with little more attention than any other visitor. He left Mexico on May 25.

In December, 1881 Strother obtained his first leave of absence from the consulate for a trip to the United States. He availed himself of Grant's open invitation for a visit, and on December 13 called at the Wall Street office of the former President. He found a very troubled man:

> At 11 o'clock visited Genl. Grant's office, corner of Wall Street and Broadway, 7th story. Ascended by an elevator. As soon as he came in I was called and had a very cordial reception. Several persons called, one Williams just from Japan and some others seek-

ing influence for offices. He said he was worried as much as when he was President. He told a very hard story on John Sherman, ex-Secretary of the Treasury. Sherman when senator applied personally for an appointment for a nephew known to be a drunken unreliable person. Grant fought it off but the subject was pursued by friends of Sherman until the appointment was secured. When the fellow's name came before the Senate for confirmation, Sherman rose and in the presence of the persons who had at his instance urged and procured the appointment declared that he knew nothing about it and had not asked for it, pretending it was a surprise to him. The nephew as might have been easily surmised failed in his accounts and was put in prison, proving altogether untrustworthy. This is our civil service and these our public men. A *Tribune* reporter called and was refused admittance, with the curt request that he should never call again. As I took leave, Genl. Grant's young man, confidential secretary named Ward, followed me out having just ascertained that I was Porte Crayon. He thanked me for the entertainment I had given him.[11]

This was the last meeting that Strother had with Grant. In May of 1884 Grant's firm was bankrupt with liabilities in excess of sixteen million dollars. Ferdinand Ward, one of the partners of Grant's firm, had perpetrated one of the deftest swindles that America had yet seen, and in the investigations which followed, the General himself narrowly escaped accusation of complicity. Strother did not lose his faith in Grant's integrity but saw in the chaos the result of an ingenuous man's being completely ruined by unscrupulous associates. Fate had dealt roughly with Ulysses S. Grant, and Strother saw in his rise and fall a somber lesson:

The ancients had an awful saying, "Consider no man fortunate until he is dead." Three years ago when I met Grant here he was in the high noon of his glory and prosperity, the nation's hero and statesman, the traveler whom kings and rulers came to meet, and

11. Ferdinand Ward, "the young Napoleon of Wall Street," was not Grant's secretary but the partner of Ulysses Grant, Jr. Ward was responsible for the failure of the firm in 1884.

whom people rose up to greet. His sun began to decline from that day. He went home to be proposed as a presidential candidate. He fell and lamed himself for life. He made haste to be rich and is now a bankrupt and like a discrowned king, none so poor as do him reverence.[12]

Grant, now a man ruined in health and stripped of fortune, was engaged upon his *Memoirs*. On July 22, 1885 he died. Strother was at the time en route home, having been relieved of his Mexican post. The circle was complete, and Strother had already written what could stand as the epitaph of Grant: "His fall was as painfully dramatic as his rise was rapid and splendid."[13]

12. Journals, Dec. 31, 1884.
13. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1885.

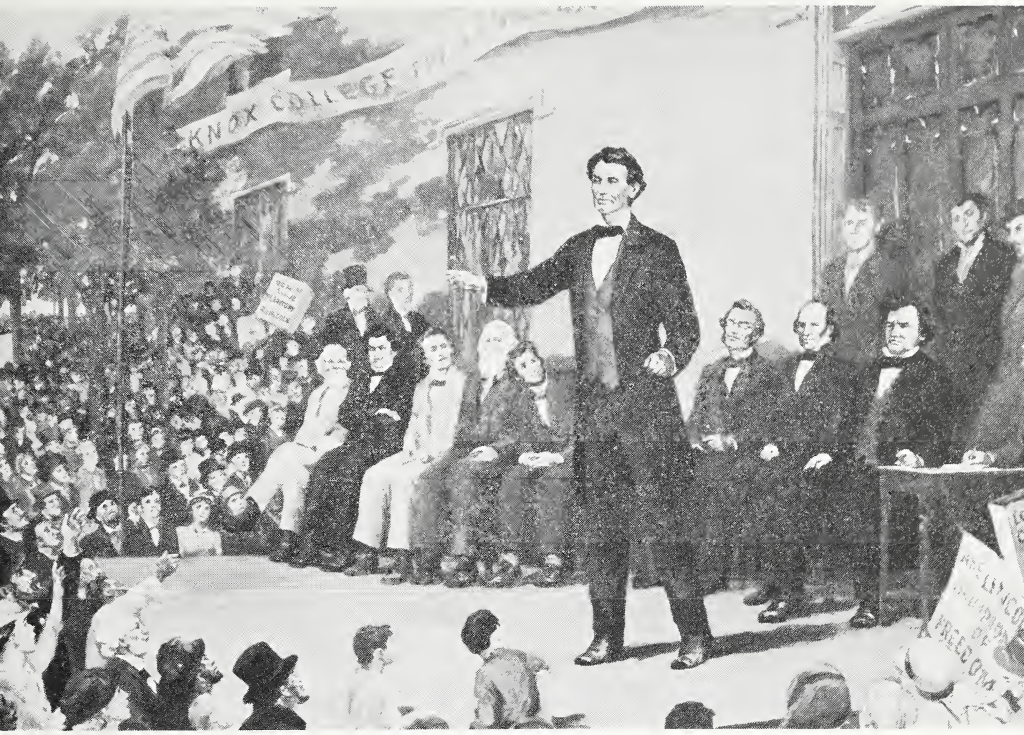
HERMANN R. MUELDER

"The Moral Lights Around Us"

This article is based on a talk given October 4, 1958 at the Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society in Galesburg. In turn the talk was adapted from a book by Dr. Muelder, professor of history and dean of Knox College. The book will be published this summer by Columbia University Press. Its full title is Fighters for Freedom, a History of Anti-Slavery Activities of Men and Women Associated with Knox College.

IN JUDGING the Lincoln-Douglas Debates from the safe distance of one hundred years, it would appear that in their Galesburg meeting Douglas scored heavily against his opponent on the charge that Lincoln altered the substance of his arguments to suit the probable preferences of the differing audiences before which they spoke.

Douglas, who opened the debate at Galesburg, began his speech with a reference to his appearance in Knox County four years previously when he had defended his action on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. That remark reminded many of his auditors that on that occasion he had debated at Knoxville with Jonathan Blanchard, president of Knox College. Douglas continued with a review and defense of his political behavior since that event and with an analysis of the present political situation. He then proceeded to embarrass Lincoln by taking advantage of the almost equal division of party forces that had always existed in the region around Galesburg. "My friend Lincoln," he said, "finds it extremely difficult to manage a debate in the central part



The Lincoln-Douglas Debate at Knox College. This painting by Chicago artist Ralph Fletcher Seymour hangs in Old Main, at the east end of which the debate took place. The four-by-five-foot canvas was dedicated on the centennial of the event.

of the state, where there is a mixture of men from the North and the South." Reinforcing this point with quoted excerpts from Lincoln's previous speeches, he maintained that Lincoln posed as a bold abolitionist in northern Illinois, but as an "Old Line Whig" farther south.[1]

This charge Lincoln did not meet very effectively in his refutation,[2] and Douglas, immediately after opening his rejoinder, put the barb deep into his rival again. "All I asked of him," said Douglas, "was that he should deliver the speech that he has made here to-day in Coles County instead of in

1. Edwin E. Sparks, ed., *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (*Illinois Historical Collections,* III, Springfield, 1908), I: 339, 342.
2. *Ibid.,* 348.

old Knox." The excitement of the crowd reached its climax as Douglas pricked his opponent with his point. An uproar arose, and catcalls, groans, cheers and other noises prevented the speaker from proceeding. Douglas asked the crowd to give him the same respectful hearing they had given Lincoln, and the latter arose to say, "I hope that silence will be preserved."[3] Douglas' attack along this line worried Lincoln enough that at the next debate, in Quincy, he devoted a considerable part of his opening speech to arguments countering the charge.[4]

A review of the debates substantiates Douglas' accusation. Lincoln's speech at Galesburg did have a new slant — an emphasis on the moral aspect of the slavery issue. "Douglas," said Lincoln, "discards the idea that there is anything wrong in slavery." Hence, he asserted, came Douglas' vaunted indifference whether slavery was "voted up or down" just so that "popular sovereignty" was fulfilled. Said Lincoln: "Judge Douglas declares that if any community wants slavery, they have a right to have it." This attitude Lincoln rebuked in some of the most forceful passages found in his campaign speeches, dealing with the issue twice in his Galesburg address. The second time he used an effective quotation from Henry Clay, hero of many an Old Whig in his audience. After repeating the quotation, Lincoln paraphrased it in what is perhaps the best and most quoted passage from his Galesburg address: "He is blowing out the moral lights around us, when he contends that whoever wants slaves has a right to hold them."[5]

Douglas was well advised in assuming that Lincoln would

3. *Ibid.*, 365-66.
4. *Ibid.*, 397-400.
5. *Ibid.*, 352-62.

expect a favorable response in Galesburg to a more forthright stand against slavery. The town's reputation as an abolitionist center was clear. In Peoria it was known as "the Abolition nest,"[6] in Quincy as "the little nigger stealing town . . . . a nest of nigger thieves."[7] A writer in the *Bloomington Pantagraph* declared:

> What Lawrence is to Kansas, Galesburg has been to Illinois. The activity and energy of its citizens, and their advocacy of right principles and free institutions, when those principles were unpopular, made it envied and hated of its neighbors, and gained for it the title of "Abolition Hole."[8]

At the time of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, the *St. Louis Missouri Republican* called Galesburg "the chief city of the Abolitionists" in Illinois,[9] while the *Chicago Times* in several communications referred to the town not only as a "stronghold" of Black Republicanism[10] but also as the "center of abolitiondom in this State"[11] — "notoriously known to be the very hotbed of abolitionism in Illinois."[12]

How had Galesburg earned such a reputation? Not by providing any major political personality in the state, nor by any singularly dramatic political activity during the 1850's. To appreciate its role in the antislavery movement requires a brief review of certain historical writings which have appeared during the last thirty years, beginning with the discovery and publication of the letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, edited by Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond. These historians and others who followed them

6. *Galesburg Free Democrat,* Feb. 23, 1854.
7. *Ibid.,* Nov. 27, 1856.
8. Quoted in *ibid.,* Sept. 16, 1857.
9. Sparks, *Lincoln-Douglas Debates,* 376.
10. *Ibid.,* 380.
11. *Ibid.,* 386.
12. *Ibid.,* 382.

have added a new dimension to an understanding of the antislavery movement – a dimension that is largely religious and academic in its depth.

From the monographs of these writers it is apparent that the radical phase of the antislavery movement, called abolitionism, received its most powerful impulse, particularly in the West, from the Great Revival of the late 1820's and 1830's. This great wave of religious excitement began to form in upstate New York, in what Whitney R. Cross has appropriately labeled the Burned-over District. Its immediate origins may be precisely traced to the evangelistic labors of Charles Grandison Finney in Oneida County, New York, in 1826. As the revival spread both east and west during the next few years, it became associated with certain benevolent, humanitarian and reforming causes, one of which was the antislavery movement. The agitation for abolition of slavery now absorbed much of the fervor of the Great Revival as well as some of its fanaticism. Many evangelists themselves became abolitionist agitators.[13]

Inextricably associated with the Great Revival and the abolitionist crusade was another movement that flourished during the late twenties and the thirties – the promotion of schools at which students could work at manual labor on the campus to pay for their education. The prototype for such schooling had also developed in Oneida County, under the leadership of George Washington Gale and others who had worked with Finney during the early years of the Great Revival. The "manual labor school" they founded was called Oneida Institute and was attended by many of Finney's young followers, notably Theodore Dwight Weld.

13. Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1950).

The abolitionist character of Oneida Institute is particularly significant because it stands at the head of a considerable genealogy of schools founded in the next three decades. Students from the early classes of Oneida Institute established another school in 1832-1834 at Cincinnati, Ohio — Lane Seminary. In 1835 when the trustees of Lane suppressed antislavery activities, the abolitionists there migrated to Oberlin College, Ohio, where they were joined by others arriving directly from the Burned-over District. Soon Oberlin was transformed into an institution like Oneida Institute. Between 1835 and 1837 it was from these Oneidas, Lane Rebels, and Oberlin students that Weld recruited the famous corps of agitators, known as the "Seventy," who for the first time made abolitionism an influence truly disruptive of the status quo in civil and ecclesiastical institutions.[14]

This academic migration of abolitionism did not stop at Ohio in its westward course, but moved on and was carried into Illinois by certain of these Oneidas, Lane Rebels, and other zealots from the Burned-over District. In 1834 George Washington Gale, founder and head of Oneida Institute, had become the leader of a college colony comprised largely of former faculty, students and patrons of the Institute. An exploratory committee for the colony purchased land in Knox County in 1835, and the first settlers of Galesburg arrived in the summer of 1836. The new college village at once pre-empted the responsibility of religious leadership and social reform for Knox County and adjacent parts of west central Illinois. During its first half-dozen years the community received reinforcements of experienced evan-

14. Gilbert H. Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (New York, 1933); Robert S. Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College from Its Foundation through the Civil War* (Oberlin, Ohio, 1943).

gelists and antislavery agents, some of whom stayed only for a season but others settled permanently. The permanent settlers were generally men who had previously been associated in religious and academic or reforming labors with members of the Galesburg colony. One of this corps of crusaders, himself a former student at Oneida Institute, then a Lane Rebel and a member of the famous Seventy antislavery agents, reported to the American Home Missionary Society in 1841: "The Galesburg colony in conjunction with this church (Knoxville) is producing a decided and happy change for miles around us on fundamental questions pertaining to the world's renovation." By 1841 the Galesburg colony had already assumed a leading role in several aspects of Illinois abolitionism. The scope and manner of this leadership can be comprehended only by understanding that the early years of the town and the formation of the college coincided with the migration to Illinois of other kindred reforming spirits who had religious and academic antecedents identical with those of the founders of Knox College and Galesburg.[15]

During the late thirties and early forties, for example, seven Lane Rebels migrated to western and northern Illinois. One of them settled permanently in Galesburg, a second was associated with the town for four important years, and the others in one way or another were frequently in contact with the Galesburg abolitionists and served along with them in the antislavery cause. Three Lane Rebels settled only forty miles from Galesburg at the Geneseo colony, which, like Galesburg, derived from the Burned-over District of New York and which was also infected with the

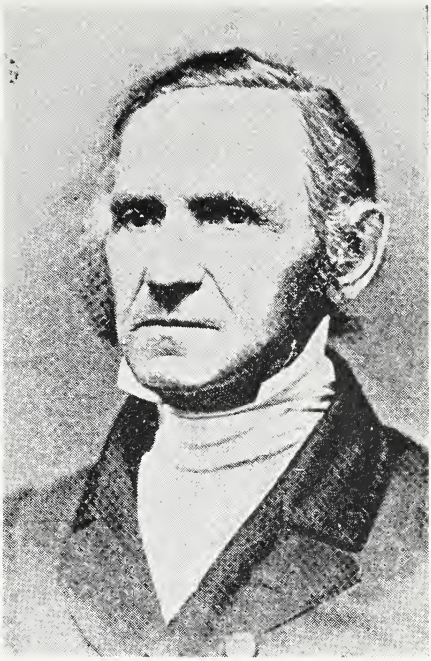
15. This paragraph and most of the remainder of the article are summarized from a book by Hermann R. Muelder, *Fighters for Freedom,* which will be published this summer by Columbia University Press.

evangelistic and reforming fervor of the Great Revival. During the same period colonies with a nucleus of members from Oneida County itself also settled at Lyndon in Whiteside County and at Lisbon in Kendall County, and the leaders of these two communities included men who had formerly been associated in New York with the founders of Knox College. Residents of both Lyndon and Lisbon became important patrons of Knox College and were associated with the Galesburg men in the antislavery movement. Indeed, meetings of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society between 1837 and 1843 were to an astounding extent reunions of Lane Rebels, former neighbors in Oneida County, and ministers or prominent laymen from the Burned-over District of New York. Former clergymen from the Burned-over District also lived at various times in La Salle, Putnam, Adams and Peoria counties, where they appeared as leaders in the early stages of the abolitionist movement. With the advantages of these associations the Galesburg colony made its leadership felt in a number of ways.

Organized leadership for early abolitionism in Illinois was provided in three ways: by founding the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society in 1837, by establishing an antislavery press and by inaugurating the Liberty Party. The press, under many names and with varying degrees of success, had been located in Madison, Putnam and La Salle counties, when finally, in 1842, the more permanent *Western Citizen* was begun in Chicago. Putnam County men also had an important role in managing the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society, but the Galesburg colony in 1838 had already begun to have the most prominent position in its sessions, and for two years, 1839-1841, the executive leadership of the society was provided by Knox County men. This was the period of most

aggressive and successful activity by the society. While its membership was concentrated at Galesburg, the executive committee put two veteran agitators, former members of Weld's Seventy, into the field as agents for the Illinois Society. The number of local societies increased notably, special conventions were held and many communities of western and central Illinois had the abolitionist gospel brought to them — but not without some tumultuous opposition, especially in Peoria. By 1843 the direction of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society was being provided by Chicago men, but by that time the life of the society had pretty much run its course, for its mission was being fulfilled by more ordinary political and religious bodies which had begun to serve the abolitionist cause.

Abolitionists themselves disagreed as to the propriety of starting their own political party, and in the beginning great care was taken to avoid any involvement of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society in plans for such a party. The Princeton convention that started the Liberty Party in Illinois in 1840 had a particularly strong representation of settlers recently come to the state from the Burned-over District. Its chairman was a member of the Galesburg colony who had been involved in the Lane Seminary imbroglio in Cincinnati, where he had been personally associated with Liberty presidential candidate, James G. Birney. Knox College was deeply involved in this third-party movement during the next decade. By 1850, the board of trustees of the college included the man who had presided over the first Liberty Party convention in the state and still another who had been chairman of the second convention of that party in Illinois. Both in 1840 and in 1844 a Knox College trustee had been candidate for presidential elector on the Lib-



George W. Gale, a leader in the academic migration of abolitionism.

erty ticket, and in 1848 the president of the college had himself been one of the electors listed by the Free Soil Party. Six Knox board members at one time or other had held the following places in the Liberty Party: two vice-presidencies of state conventions, in 1842 and 1846; a candidate for Congress; two candidates for the state senate; five presidencies, vice-presidencies or secretaryships of district and county party organizations. From the faculty had come a candidate for the Illinois General Assembly. This list does not include other preachers and laymen from the colony who achieved leading roles in the Liberty Party. What makes this catalogue most significant is the fact that these party positions were all held by men from a single village which, in 1850, had not yet reached the number of 900 souls, counting women and children as well as voters.

Such an enumeration of the antislavery members of the

colony that sustained Knox College may be less important than an evaluation of the kind of antislavery influence they exerted. Comparing the size of an acorn and a walnut portends less for the future than certain qualities inherent in the seed. Pioneer Galesburg and the communities most closely associated with it propounded an antislavery gospel that was primarily religious and moral rather than political and legal in its foundations, and though all of these arguments were blended into an evangelistic appeal, the ultimate sanction was biblical in character. The following is part of an address made by George Washington Gale on Independence Day, 1838, to a local antislavery society, which he had helped to organize in Farmington, Illinois.

It is befitting this day to celebrate it; not in noisy mirth . . . but in thanksgiving to Him. . . . Especially is it proper since the clanking chains of more than two millions of our countrymen proclaim to the world that the principles to which our venerable fathers pledged their dearest interests are trifled with; when their language on the subject is by many of our countrymen declared to be merely a flourish of rhetoric, and never designed to apply to all men; when the sacred principles of liberty are fast fading from the minds of multitudes; when the freedom of debate is stifled in the halls of legislation; when ecclesiastical courts inflict their highest censure upon those who plead for impartial liberty and who remonstrate against the enslaving by their brethren of those whom Christ has made free; when our temples dedicated to freedom are maliciously burnt down, in spite of constitutional guarantees, and the rulers of the land are winking at their enormities; when the press that dares to plead for the oppressed is broken and cast into the street, and the blood of those who gave voice to the press mingled on the ground with its scattered types, with the entire impunity of the assassins; when pious men and ministers of the gospel rebuke the sin at the hazard of personal abuse or of life; at such a time it is proper to wake up the spirit of our fathers, to re-assert the principles of liberty, and with trumpet lung proclaim in them through the land till every tyrant trembles upon his seat,

and every minion in his train flies terror stricken at the sound, and the walls and ramparts of slavery like those of Jericho fall to the ground.[16]

The Old Testament spirit that animates such rhetoric is more literally expressed in the papers of one of the Knox College trustees whose diaries and letters provide some rare information about operations of the Underground Railroad by which slaves from Missouri escaped to Canada. In December, 1842 Samuel Guild Wright wrote in his journal:

In the providence of God several fugitive slaves, at different times, had found their way into our neighborhood, and although the laws of our state are exceedingly severe rendering one liable to a fine of $500 who shall feed or harbor a colored man who does not give undoubted evidence of his freedom, yet our brethren felt that the statutes of Heaven were to be regarded before those of men and did not hesitate to "feed the hungry."

To sanctify such lawbreaking, Wright would cite Deuteronomy XXIII: 15-16:

Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of the gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him.

There was an awful simplicity about the slavery question for abolitionists with such a faith: Slavery is a sin like all other sins; Christians will deal with it as they deal with other sins; churches will treat slaveholders as they do murderers and adulterers. Such doctrine combined with Calvinistic discipline to effect a stark ecclesiastical policy. It is clearly set forth in the minutes of the Knox Presbytery of 1840:

We consider it the duty of all church judicatories which believe in the sin of slaveholding, to declare their sentiments, and to labour by all christian methods to expel it from the churches and the world.

16. *Peoria Register and North Western Gazetteer,* July 14, 1838.

The presbytery will neither receive to this body any slaveholder though ordained to preach the gospel, nor licence any to preach the gospel, who is guilty of the sin, nor will they admit to their pulpits men of this character, and they enjoin it upon all their church sessions to receive no such persons to their communion, and if any such are found in their churches to take up a course of discipline with them, as they would if chargeable with other crimes.

We will co-operate with any other Presbytery or Presbyteries in any constitutional and christian measures for the purging this sin from the Presbyterian Church, to which we belong.[17]

The Galesburg colony church persistently acted with the minority who insisted that the Presbyterian General Assembly purge itself of any association whatever with slaveholding. Under the leadership of Jonathan Blanchard, who became president of Knox College in 1845, that church and the college became the most notorious in all the West for such disruptive or schismatic principles. More than any other one person Blanchard was responsible for straining those ecclesiastical associations between Presbyterians and Congregationalists which earlier in the century had united the Calvinistic denominations. Indeed, he became the foremost leader of a movement extending across denominational boundaries that had as its objective the excommunication (though the word used was "disfellowship") of all slaveholders from all religious and benevolent bodies.

During the 1850's, while such religious sectionalism was being confirmed and consolidated, a renewed colonization, with clearly stated antislavery purposes, thrust a number of academic communities against the border of slavery itself. Berea College was founded in Kentucky by Oberlin and Knox men, Hoyleton in Egypt or Southern Illinois was established by Galesburg promoters, Tabor College and Amity

17. Gale sent the resolutions to the abolitionist *Genius of Liberty* (Lowell), which published them on Feb. 6, 1841.

College were set up close to the Missouri border by Oberlin and Knox colonists, respectively, and Galesburg had its own namesake antislavery daughter in Kansas.

The doctrine that slaveholding was a sin led to the events of a Sabbath night in October, 1859, when John Brown ordered, "Men, get on your arms, we will proceed to the Ferry." Among the eighteen members of Brown's "Provisional Army" were three former students from Oberlin and Knox.[18] Their presence followed a kind of historical logic, for, spiritually, the march which Brown ordered had its sanction in the antislavery crusade generated by the Great Revival. It is remarkable how often the route of Brown and his men from Kansas to Virginia passed settlements with Oneida antecedents. Heading east across Iowa, Brown's entourage visited at Tabor, a daughter colony of Oberlin, and again at a colony founded by and named for Josiah Bushnell Grinnell, a former Oneida Institute student. Farther east, in Oneida County, New York, itself, Brown was the guest of Gerrit Smith, a former patron of Oneida Institute. Brown's traveling companion on this eastern section of his campaign to raise supplies and money for his invasion of the South was Jeremiah Anderson, who had been a student at the Knox Academy.

The fighting at Harper's Ferry takes us only a year of clock time beyond the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, but carries us near a moment of epochal duration beyond the forensic stage of the slavery conflict. When Lincoln raised the moral issue of slavery before his approving auditors in Galesburg, one wonders, did he truly comprehend the particular meaning of his words to the abolitionist veterans who heard him? During the debates about the Compromise of 1850 Daniel

18. Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 414.

Webster, in his Seventh of March speech, had described the difficulty of the politician:

> Sir, when a question of this kind seizes on the religious sentiments of mankind, and comes to be discussed in religious assemblies of the clergy and laity, there is always to be expected, or always to be feared, a great degree of excitement. . . . In all such disputes, there will sometimes be men found with whom every thing is absolute — absolutely wrong, or absolutely right. . . . They are apt, too, to think that nothing is good but what is perfect, and that there are no compromises or modifications to be made in submission to difference of opinion, or in deference to other men's judgment.

Lincoln, too, within three years of the debates was to discover how the slavery question baffled the arts of the politicians. He learned how difficult it was to constrain its meaning to constitutional, legal, political procedures. For a generation there had been gathering a host who could see the coming of the Lord in the vintage of the grapes of wrath, in the fateful lightning and in a terrible swift sword. Still in the spring of 1865 it puzzled the President that both sides of the great war "read the same Bible and prayed to the same God, and each invoked His aid against the other." But the debater of 1858 had also, like the statesman of 1865, reached this conviction:

> Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether."

Such words might have been spoken by an abolitionist in 1837.

VICTOR HICKEN

The Virden and Pana Mine Wars of 1898

A native of southern Illinois, Victor Hicken is a professor of history at Western Illinois University, Macomb. He received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Illinois, where his written dissertation was on the political and military career of John Alexander McClernand.

ALTHOUGH THE best-known examples of the bitter and explosive violence that often marked the relationship between capital and labor during the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century were the Homestead and Pullman strikes, there were others of varying importance all across the nation. Not the least of these were the clashes that developed along that storm front between coal feudalism and the rising labor movement in Illinois – particularly those at Virden and Pana in 1898.

Looking back, it is not difficult to understand just how feudalism came into being in the coal fields. The description of conditions at Spring Valley, Illinois, which Henry D. Lloyd called "but one pustule of a disease spread through the whole body," could be applied to any number of mining villages, including Pana and Virden.[1] In Spring Valley, feudalism was inherent in the founding of the town in the 1880's. Miners who flocked to this area in answer to newspaper advertisements that it was "a good location for busi-

1. Henry D. Lloyd, *A Strike of Millionaires against Miners: or, the Story of Spring Valley . . .* (Chicago, 1890), 10.

ness" and that it had "steady employment" were soon caught in a trap of high food and land prices.[2] In a short time the miners found themselves employed at low wages and under the burden of heavy debt, which sometimes increased but seldom decreased. There were times when Spring Valley miners earned as much as $60 a month,[3] but more often the pay was considerably less, as in the case of one miner who drew the meager sum of $23 for a month's work. After paying grocery, fuel and smithing expenses, he had nothing left.[4]

Nevertheless, those were really the "good" years, for what miners all over the nation suffered in the depression of the early 1900's is beyond description. The numerous stories of workers eating their dogs and of whole families starving are scarcely exaggerated.

Yet, despite all the hardships of his lot, the American miner did not want charity, even after "toiling and moiling, sweating and fuming" for the mere existence of his family.[5] What he wanted, in general, was recognition of his human dignity. More specifically, in the words of John Mitchell, he wanted a "sufficient amount of money to enable him to live . . . educate his children, clothe them properly, and . . . enable him to live when old."[6] Just how far Illinois miners were from these goals in 1897 is not difficult to demonstrate. The average worker of that time toiled a backbreaking ten-hour day, 179 days a year.[7] He was paid about thirty-five cents a ton for the coal he

2. *Ibid.*, 25.
3. *Ibid.*, 37.
4. *Ibid.*, 44.
5. Elsie Gluck, *John Mitchell* (New York, 1929), 23.
6. United States Industrial Commission, *Report,* XII (Washington, 1901): 41.
7. *Ibid.*, cxviii.

mined.[8] Since a miner's usual rate was three tons per day, his yearly income averaged $187.95.[9] It is not surprising, then, that Illinois miners quickly joined the general coal strike called by the United Mine Workers on July 4, 1897 following the collapse of negotiations, for which the operators were held responsible.

By the end of that year, however, the coal operators were ready to negotiate. After a preliminary settlement, a joint conference was held in Chicago in January. When the meeting was over, miners all over the country had won great improvements in wages and working conditions. Besides the very substantial victory in the eight-hour day and six-day week, there were definite area agreements relative to screening rights and pay increases. Each of these agreements was to become the basis for further discussions between area operators and district organizations of the union. One of the gains pertinent to the later troubles in the Pana and Virden pits was that which set as a mining rate for most of Illinois the scale of forty cents per ton of mine-run coal, an increase of about fifteen cents a day for the common miner.[10]

Later in 1898 a conference between Illinois operators and the Mine Workers was held for the purpose of adjusting pick and mining prices in the Illinois fields. In these discussions a strong protest against the rate increase agreed upon the previous January was made by the operators whose mines stretched along the Chicago and Alton Railroad south of Springfield. These owners, led by representatives of the Chicago-Virden Coal Company, argued that the rate in-

8. Chris Evans, *History of the United Mine Workers of America* (Indianapolis, n.d.), II: 550-52.

9. U.S. Industrial Commission, *Report,* XII: cxxiii. Operator Dalzell testified that the miner's usual rate was three tons per day. Compare this wage to the average American wage of $749 in 1901.

10. Evans, *United Mine Workers,* II: 550-52.

crease would price them out of the Chicago market.[11] On August 8, four mining concerns, including the Pana Coal Company, agreed to submit their case to the national executive board of the United Mine Workers, headed by President Michael D. Ratchford. Signers of this article of agreement stipulated further that they would be bound by the decision of the board.[12]

The protest against the original contract made at Chicago was not the work of the small operators. In all, twenty mining companies were in revolt against the new scale, with the Chicago-Virden Company the most powerful of the group; in 1897 its mine at Virden was the largest single producer of coal in the state, hoisting 348,000 tons.[13] Consequently, any success on the part of the major operators in turning back the new scale would lead to rejections elsewhere. Frank W. Lukens, manager of the Chicago-Virden mines, reportedly appealed for support from other operators on this basis. When the national executive board did return a verdict unfavorable to the operators, the four companies rejected the decision, notwithstanding the previous agreement and the lack of support from other operators.[14]

Following rejection of the national board's findings, the mine owners set about to operate their mines with nonunion labor. At Pana some attempts were made to bring nonunion white workers into the pits, but the miners offered such stiff resistance that the efforts failed.[15] The Pana company then made ominous threats of importing Chinese

11. *Ibid.*, 576.
12. *Ibid.*, 599.
13. Frederick Saward, ed., *The Coal Trade: The Year Book of the Coal and Coke Industry* (Washington, 1897), 102.
14. *Coal in Illinois (Eighteenth Annual Coal Report Prepared by the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics,* Springfield, 1899), ii.
15. *Pana* (Ill.) *Palladium,* July 19, 1898.

labor from the West.[16] By August, however, most of the insurgent operators, including those at Pana and Virden, had settled upon the less troublesome method of tapping the huge Negro labor market of the South. Agents sent to Alabama to recruit experienced Negro miners met opposition only from the Afro-American Labor and Protective Association, which was vigorous but ineffectual.[17] The following circular was typical of the appeal made by agents of the Virden company to Negroes of Alabama:

> WANTED—One hundred and seventy-five good colored miners for Virden, Illinois. Pay in full every two weeks, 30 cents per ton, run of mines. . . . Want nothing but first class miners; all coal weighed on top. Bring your tools well tied up if you wish to carry them. Will leave Birmingham Thursday night at 8 o'clock, September 22. . . .[18]

Agents for the Pana Coal Company used a quite different manner of recruitment, which was described months later by two of the hired Negroes:

> Benj. Lynch and Jack Anderson being duly sworn, upon their oath say they are residents of Birmingham, Ala., resided at Birmingham for 11 years; occupation coal miners; say that on Monday, Aug. 22, 1898, they were approached by two white men and one colored man who represented that they were from Pana, Ill.; that most of the miners had gone to the war for two years; that there was a new mine opening there and a great demand for labor, and they wanted 150 men; and there was no trouble there; said about eight or nine months ago there had been a little trouble but that was all settled; affiants said they were working . . . but on being told that they could make from $3 to $5 per day were induced to give up their jobs and go to Pana.[19]

The report of the new maneuver by the Pana operators

16. *Coal in Illinois* (1899), 12.
17. *Pana Palladium,* Aug. 25, 1898.
18. *Ibid.,* Aug. 25, 26, 1898.
19. Affidavit quoted in *ibid.,* Aug. 25, 1898.

aroused strong indignation among the miners of that city. A large local meeting was held on August 23, resulting in the dispatch of representatives to Centralia to attempt to persuade the Negro miners to turn back. A small number did leave the train, but the majority remained aboard, perhaps fearing the miners' representatives even more than their own white guards. From Centralia to Pana, however, the Negroes rode in a sweat of fear, having been told by their white protectors that they were not to appear at the windows of the train lest they be fired upon by hostile workers.[20]

The arrival of Negro labor in the heart of the state posed new problems for state authorities and the merchants of Pana, as well as for labor groups. To the latter the issue which arose was one which scarcely involved color; instead, it was centered around the simple economic fact of imported cheap labor. Though he had seen operators use the same expedient before, the American miner was still not inured to the practice. In the previous decade, as well as in the 1890's, a tremendous influx of Slav labor had taken place. In spite of the fact that much of the Illinois labor force was immigrant itself – in most cases from the British Isles – it had tended to think of the Slav invasion as the greatest threat to its security.[21] Thus the Welsh, the Irish, the English and the Scots saw their refuge and their strength as existing only in organization. Leadership was provided by such men as Ratchford, William D. Ryan, Tom Lewis and John Mitchell, all of British background.[22] With the coming of the Negro, however, the Slav was no longer considered the

20. *Ibid.*, Aug. 25, 26, 1898.
21. Frank Julian Warne, *The Coal-Mine Workers: A Study in Labor Organizations* (New York, 1905), 210.
22. Gluck, *John Mitchell,* 12.

John Mitchell as he appeared at about the time of the Virden-Pana mine wars. His record there helped elect him president of the United Mine Workers.

greatest of the cheap labor threats. Now the menace was the imported Negro worker, who often did not understand the underlying implications of why he had been brought north. He accepted the word of the white agents that greater opportunity for his advancement lay northward, and did not question the reasons for his need there.[23]

The local businessman of Pana saw the invasion of the Negro as a definite threat to the future of his interests. Higher wages for the miners meant a greater volume of business for him, and the Negro worker represented neither higher wages nor greater volume of business. Pana businessmen felt so strongly that, shortly after the arrival of the Negroes, a delegation traveled to Springfield to present their case to Governor John R. Tanner. The Governor was not there, however, and no one else would listen to them.[24]

23. *Coal in Illinois* (1899), 6.
24. *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), Sept. 6, 1898.

The Negroes, now housed safely but unhygienically behind the Springside stockade at Pana, presented an imponderable problem to the Illinois politician. The time was 1898, a year of important mid-term elections. If the miners alone had been offended by the importations of Negro labor, both major parties might have ignored the issue, but there were many other elements in the state which were also involved. The politicians made note of the huge mass meetings in Springfield,[25] and they could tally with shrewdness the effect of a huge meeting of three thousand people in Kankakee. The ambitious of both parties read with interest the resolution which congratulated Governor Tanner on his early support of the miners: "As American citizens we desire to congratulate you on the stand you have taken on behalf of the oppressed coal miners of Pana. . . . You have set an example; let others follow."[26] Others did. Both political parties quickly recorded their support of the miners' cause![27]

Tanner's early stand in favor of the Virden and Pana workers was one of calculated political perception. He must have recognized the political danger of not so acting, since the leader of the Democratic opposition was former Governor John Peter Altgeld, who had already established himself as a supporter of labor with his pardoning of the Haymarket rioters. Moreover, since the war in Cuba was becoming an embarrassing burden upon the Republican Party, the Virden-Pana episode was greeted as a welcome diversion of public sentiment. The importations of Negroes offered the Republicans an opportunity to renew their support of the Illinois laboring man and they did so.

25. *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1898.
26. *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1898.
27. *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1898.

By September the situation in the coal fields south of Springfield was growing worse. The Chicago-Virden Company, in preparation for the installation of Negro labor at Virden, had begun construction of a stockade around its mine. As the little fortress grew, local tension heightened. Varying reports sifted out of Virden concerning the stockade itself. One traveler noted simply that it provided an "excellent point of vantage."[28] Another deprecated its protective qualities: "I saw the famous stockade at Virden as I came up from St. Louis. It is not in any sense a formidable looking affair and a well intentioned donkey could demolish it in an hour. . . . The Virden situation is the sole topic of conversation on the trains."[29]

The stockade completed, a second step was taken by the Chicago-Virden Company to forestall any retaliation by the hundreds of miners pouring into the little village from outlying towns. Under the leadership of Lukens, fifty guards were imported to the wooden fortress. All of them were intimately acquainted with firearms; twenty-one were ex-policemen from Chicago; eighteen more were agents from the Thiel Detective Agency of St. Louis; and the rest were hired guards from the surrounding area.[30] With the guards hired and fitted out with new Winchesters, the company felt the time appropriate to bring in the Negro workers.[31]

On September 24 Virden was a seething mass of angry miners, many of whom were armed and all of whom were determined to thwart the plan of the Chicago-Virden Com-

28. *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 13, 1898.
29. *Ill. State Jour.*, Oct. 7, 1898.
30. *Chi. Trib.*, Oct. 13, 1898. Later, J. M. Hunter, the Mine Workers' district president, was presented a gavel carved from a post to which an ex-Chicago policeman "caught hold . . . as he was falling to his death" at Virden. Evans, *United Mine Workers*, II: 672.
31. *Chi. Trib.*, Oct. 13, 1898.

The stockade at the Virden mine, with the main line of the Chicago and Alton Railroad at the right. A side track entered the stockade behind the men at the extreme left. (From Harper's Weekly, *October 29, 1898.)*

pany. Patrols of workers were directed to the outskirts of the village in order to signal the approach of any suspicious train. One patrol spiked the switches of the Chicago and Alton Railroad,[32] but this action failed to accomplish its purpose, for later that day the train bearing the Negroes drove through the outer patrols and entered the town. But when the engineer saw the large number of workers concentrated about the stockade, he opened the throttle once again and roared northward toward Springfield. At the capital, J. M. Hunter, the Mine Workers' district president, boarded the train and managed to persuade many of the Negro families to leave it. Hunter then marched the group through the streets of Springfield to the Governor's Mansion, perhaps hoping to cement Tanner's sympathy to the union cause.[33] Unfortunately for Hunter, the Governor was

32. *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 14, 1898.
33. *Ill. State Jour.*, Sept. 26, 1898.

out of the state. The union leader then took the Negroes to Allen Hall and supplied them with the odd fare of beer, crackers and cakes.[34]

The initial success of the Virden miners served to stiffen the attitude of the workers at Pana. On September 24, and in the days thereafter, there were violent disturbances and shootings. In one of these outbreaks, John Mitchell, then vice-president of the United Mine Workers, was able to save two of the mine operators from death at the hands of some angry strikers. It was a deed of rare courage, even for the young and ambitious Mitchell. His participation in the incident, his admonitions against further violence and his subsequent arrest at Pana, all served to project his name into public view, a circumstance which helped lead to his election as president of the United Mine Workers.[35] Yet, even with Mitchell's calls for caution, order did not prevail at Pana, and before the end of the month the National Guard was brought in. With a few exceptions, its presence prevented any further outbreaks.[36]

In the early weeks of October there seemed no end to Negro trains and rumors of Negro trains. Sixty Negro workers, bound for Pana from Washington, Indiana, were forced off their cars at Tower Hill and persuaded to return to their former homes.[37] Another two carloads were sidetracked at Galesburg.[38] Fourteen Negroes were taken off a train near Minonk.[39] Apparently any Negro traveling through central Illinois was under suspicion.

At Virden, meanwhile, the mining company was ready

34. *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 27, 1898.
35. Gluck, *John Mitchell,* 47-49.
36. *Ill. State Jour.,* Oct. 5, 1898.
37. *Pana Palladium,* Sept. 30, 1898.
38. *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, 30, 1898.
39. *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, 1898.

to make its second attempt to bring Negro labor into the town. An appeal was made to the Governor for military protection — which he quickly rejected. Tanner's reply, made a month before the 1898 elections, obviously was directed toward the electorate. "The laboring man's only property," he asserted, "is the right to labor, which is as dear to him as the capitalist's millions."[40] The company's immediate rebuttal was that the Governor's statement gave sanction to violence.[41] Nevertheless, the company proceeded with its do-or-die plan. On October 12 forty-three Virden miners received their last pay envelopes. Enclosed in each was a copy of an admonition against "interfering or intermeddling with the business" of the company.[42]

The next day, October 13, was indeed an evil one. Toward noon another Negro train approached Virden, and the engineer was under strict orders to discharge his human cargo within the village. As the train rolled to a stop in front of the stockade, heavy gunfire broke out between the guards and the miners.[43] It was a perfect illustration of raw violence, the kind men resort to in utter desperation. To one of the Thiel Agency detectives, well schooled in conflict, it was warfare "hotter than San Juan Hill." When the wounded engineer again moved his train in the direction of Springfield and away from the battlefield, the combatants counted their dead. Of the miners, about thirty were wounded and seven killed. Five guards were wounded and four killed. None of the Negroes were killed, but several were wounded.[44] The suffering of those who were wounded

40. *Ill. State Jour.,* Oct. 10, 1898.
41. *Chi. Trib.,* Oct. 13, 1898.
42. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* Oct. 12, 1898.
43. *Ill. State Jour.,* Oct. 13, 1898.
44. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* Oct. 13, 1898. Estimates of the number killed vary considerably.

was greater than necessary because no physician could be found to attend them.[45]

As the train rolled off toward Springfield, the miners vented their wrath at another symptom of coal feudalism: the company store. They swarmed about the store, apparently with the intent of wrecking it, and when the store manager fired at them from a window, a group of miners entered the building and chased him to the roof. Rather than be caught by the mob, the fear-crazed man leaped through the glass skylight to the ground floor. Barely living, he was rescued by more temperate miners and taken away.[46]

The miners had accomplished their purpose. No Negroes had landed in Virden. Despite the brevity of the conflict, the bitterness with which it was fought is almost unparalleled in labor history. To the Virden miner it was a struggle to maintain the sanctity of his home and the security of his future.[47] To the operator, it was an attempt to preserve those rights which he held dear: the right to protect property and the right to hire whom he pleased, when he pleased. That the operator lost is proof that property rights are only as strong as the human element protecting them, in this case fifty guards.[48]

Reactions to the incident were prompt and varied. While Illinois newspapers continued to support the miners and Tanner, eastern newspapers vigorously attacked them. The *Boston Transcript* wrote of Tanner that he encouraged "a furious mob by announcing his purpose of not interfering." The *Baltimore Sun* asked: "Was the Civil War in vain?"

45. *Chi. Trib.,* Oct. 13, 1898.
46. *Ill. State Jour.,* Oct. 13, 1898.
47. If the company had achieved its goal, the miners would have lost both their homes and their jobs.
48. In the case of the Pullman strike, the U.S. government had intervened.

Miner's cabin, near the Virden stockade, where strikers gathered for coffee. (From Harper's Weekly, *October 29, 1898.)*

Other newspapers such as the *Indianapolis News,* the *Rochester Post-Express* and the *New York Tribune* were strong in their denunciations of the Illinois workers and their sympathetic Governor.[49] The gunfire at Virden had its repercussions in Washington, too. R. A. Alger, the Secretary of War, quickly placed the Fifth Illinois Volunteer Infantry at the services of Tanner in the event the National Guard should prove to be insufficient.[50]

But the National Guard was easily able to maintain order. Shortly after the bloody shooting, the "Sons of Veterans" Company — one hundred men under the command of Captain William Fervrier — had marched into Virden.[51] They

49. *New York Daily Tribune,* Oct. 16, 1898, quotes editorial comment by other newspapers.

50. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* Oct. 14, 1898.

51. *Chi. Trib.,* Oct. 14, 1898.

were the representatives of an angry Governor who, upon receiving news of the massacre, had hurled this savage condemnation: "These mine owners have so far forgotten their duty to society as to bring about this blot upon the fair name of our state; have gone far enough . . . they had fair warning from me."[52] The president of the Chicago-Virden Company, Thomas Loucks, retaliated with the bitter accusation that the blame for the bloodshed rested in Springfield with the Governor. Loucks then fled from Virden to Chicago, where he hurriedly shook off reporters with the comment, "I shan't say a word, not a word; don't stop me."[53] This was the action of a man who realized that the sympathy of the Illinois press was lost.

What about the Negroes? The majority of them reached Springfield in a pitiful condition — frightened, tired and shamefully disillusioned. Besides, they were kept as virtual prisoners aboard the train. When J. M. Hunter, the district leader of the United Mine Workers, tried to board the cars for the purpose of persuading the Negro families to leave their confining quarters, he was promptly thrown off by their white guards. Although badly injured, Hunter found a policeman who would accompany him, and boarded the train again. This time he talked some of the unfortunate Negroes into leaving their semi-imprisonment.[54] Shortly thereafter most of them were taken to St. Louis, where some found employment. Others drifted back to Birmingham, disillusioned but infinitely wiser.[55]

By the middle of November the Chicago-Virden Company had realized its defeat. The mines were once again opened,

52. *Ibid.,* Oct. 13, 1898.
53. *Ibid.,* Oct. 13, 14, 1898.
54. *Ill. State Jour.,* Oct. 13, 1898.
55. *Ibid.,* Oct. 16, 1898.

this time at the forty-cent rate.[56] In Pana, however, the situation had not eased, nor would it for some time. No more Negro workers were imported, for the National Guard was under strict orders to prevent such an occurrence,[57] but the miners were faced with the problem of preventing the mines from operating with the Negroes who had been brought in earlier. A temporary injunction was obtained, but the court declined to make it permanent.[58] In March, 1899 the Mine Workers' national convention resolved that Governor Tanner be petitioned to "remove the State troops and disarm all Negroes in Pana and force said operators and miners of Pana to make . . . a settlement."[59] In April the state board of arbitration offered its services, only to be turned down again by the Pana operators. However, by October, 1899 the Pana company was ready to admit its defeat, and agreed to pay the new scale and to re-employ its former workers.[60]

The implications of labor's victory were significant. The old coal feudalism, with all of its viciousness, was now on its way out. The United Mine Workers of America, a comparatively new organization, was stimulated by its victory and proceeded successfully to organize other mine fields in which miners had been reluctant to join the union movement. Perhaps the most important result was the establishment of Illinois as a spawning ground for the nation's labor leaders — a position the state was to hold during the first fifty years of the twentieth century.

56. *Ibid.*, Oct. 16, 17, 1898.
57. *Chi. Trib.*, Oct. 15, 1898.
58. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Sept. 20, 1898.
59. *Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the United Mine Workers of America* (Washington, 1899), 153.
60. Arthur Suffern, *Conciliation and Arbitration in the Coal Industry of America* (Boston, 1915), 49.

ALFRED ISACSSON — OTTO EISENSCHIML

The Final Two Chapters In the Surratt Controversy

Alfred Isacsson, O. Carm., now a theological student at Whitefriars Hall, Washington, D.C., became interested in the Surratts — of Lincoln assassination fame — when he was studying for his M.A. in history at St. Bonaventure University. In the Summer, 1958 Journal *Otto Eisenschiml, who has written extensively about the assassination, took exception to some of his findings. Below are their final words in this discussion.*

Fr. Isacsson

AFTER THE first reading in last summer's *Journal* of Otto Eisenschiml's "criticism" of my article, "John Surratt and the Lincoln Assassination Plot," which had appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for December, 1957, I felt it did not warrant a reply. Despite this and the advice of friends to ignore the article's sarcasm and innuendoes, I came to the position that for the sake of truth I must reply. If I had believed what I had written, this was the only thing to do.

The Trivia Issue

I am accused by Mr. Eisenschiml of weaving lesser known incidents — "trivia" — into the story of John Surratt. An example: Mrs. Mary Surratt, John's mother, attended Mrs. Winifred Martin's school in Alexandria, Virginia. This is merely one detail in a brief introductory passage about the parents of John Surratt, the subject of the article. The

schools of Mrs. Martin were quite an accomplishment for their day, and they have a place in both Maryland and Catholic educational history. That Mrs. Surratt attended one of these schools is not too well known; even less familiar is the fact that she attended the Alexandria one. We know so little about Mrs. Surratt's early life that I thought this trifle, given me by Monsignor Edward McAdams, should be among the selected details lest it be lost.

The second example: In regard to who arrested Surratt in Veroli, I did not want merely to say a soldier did it. The arrest was at the initiative of Cardinal Antonelli before any formal request was made by the United States State Department. John was absent on leave from his post at Tresulti, and the troops sent from Velletri could therefore not arrest him. And so Vanderstroeten was detailed to capture him at Veroli. That someone other than those assigned at Velletri apprehended Surratt is the fact of the matter, and why they did is part of the story. The dispatches of Rufus King to the State Department go into great detail on this point and even include copies of the dispatches of the Papal States officials involved.[1]

Another example: My enumerating the residents of the Surratt boardinghouse is hardly what I would call a presentation of the "intimate life" of the household. Because some of these people come into the story later on, I thought it a good place to introduce them. The house and the names of those going and coming is puzzling to the neophyte. To avoid confusion it seemed like a good idea to give, as it were, the complete set-up. The reason for this is obscure — yes, to one versed in the field.

1. Leo F. Stock, ed., *United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches, 1848-1868* (Washington, D. C., 1933), 389-90, 393.

I do not make a point of William Cleaver's renting horses to Surratt and Booth. The fact is just mentioned in connection with their going out into the country to survey routes for the proposed kidnapping. Perhaps I did retain the irrelevant morsel about Cleaver's stealing Joseph Bradley's horse, but it would have been nicer if Mr. Eisenschiml had retained his sarcasm and merely pointed out what he thought were omissions.

Next I am accused of debatable accuracy "in other trivial details." Now, besides the names of Susan Ann (Mahoney) Jackson and Lafayette C. Baker being wrong — I called Susan by the name "Jackson" instead of "Mahoney" and Baker "Charles L." — Dr. Eisenschiml has pointed out no inaccuracies. I have not said there are none, but he has pointed out none. Instead, he has criticized only the presence of the so-called trivia. Before making such general accusations, Dr. Eisenschiml should specify.

Dr. Eisenschiml accuses me of missing the significance of Louis Weichman's working for the War Department's Commissary General of Prisoners. He is referring, I imagine, to the nature of the dispatches Weichman gave John Surratt. I never said these were "important." The exact contents of the documents he pilfered from the War Department are unknown. Dr. Eisenschiml's assumption that they had to do with the number of Confederate prisoners on hand in the Elmira prison is gratuitous. Moreover, the fact that a reconnaissance of the prison was Surratt's last mission for the Confederacy is not proof of the nature of the pilfered documents. It has always been my understanding that this assignment at the Union prison — not Confederate, as Dr. Eisenschiml said (evidently an oversight) — was given to Surratt by General Edward Lee only after Surratt had ar-

rived in Canada on April 6, 1865, with the dispatches from Judah Benjamin concerning the disposition of Confederate Treasury funds in Canada. The fact that Surratt later received the prison mission does not prove that Weichman stole this type of document, although it is still possible that he did give dispatches of this nature to Surratt, who took them to Canada along with the Benjamin instructions. The nature of the stolen documents has to be found in another source.

I chose to spell Lewis Paine's name "Payne" because this is the more common spelling and the one used in the conspiracy trial record. I might add that the spelling of Louis Weichman's name is a similar case. The spelling with two "n's" is not correct, as he himself states, but it is the form commonly used and the one to which Weichman acquiesced.[2] But let's leave this before we become involved in the orthographic question of what makes a spelling correct.

The January Attempt

Perhaps I might lead this discussion off with the remark that tagging Jim Bishop as my "patron saint" is in rather bad taste. Possibly something personal prompted the selection; I like to think not. In any case it is without foundation. I quoted from Bishop three times in the whole article: once, merely as a secondary quote collaborating one from *The Trial of John H. Surratt*; second, just to pinpoint a well-known fact; and third — on the January attempt, which occasioned the remark — I merely mentioned his interpretation as a possible explanation. I was very careful just to quote and not to take sides on this question. Moreover, "possible" is my description for Bishop's explanation

2. *Trial of John H. Surratt in the Criminal Court for the District of Columbia* (Washington, D. C., 1867), I: 369.

of what I have called the January activities. From the evidence I gathered, the plotters had some activity scheduled for January, but I was not satisfied with what I found in the primary sources at my disposal regarding what was to happen and when. If Dr. Eisenschiml had checked my reference to Bishop's account, he would have seen that the part assigned to Surratt in the supposed plan is part of Bishop's theory. I assign Surratt no part in the January attempt; I merely quote Bishop, who does assign the man a part: the job of turning off the gas valve in Ford's Theatre. From the context, I am sure it is clear that I am only presenting Jim Bishop's theory.

If I left out material relating to the Ford's Theatre plot, such as the part turned down by Chester and Mathews, it was because I was writing not on the assassination but rather on the part played by John Surratt in the activities culminating in Lincoln's assassination.

Some Smaller Points

In my article I have John Surratt working for the Adams Express Company of Washington in December, 1864, and I have him leaving that job after about ten days' employment so he could continue his blockade-running through the Union lines. The day he left the Adams Express Company was January 13, 1865. During the rest of January I have Surratt doing blockade-running and reconnaissance work with Booth on the routes going out of Washington. Are the two activities incompatible, as Dr. Eisenschiml claims? I do not see how, unless a hitherto undiscovered account of Surratt's activities is produced showing that he was exclusively engaged in one of these occupations. The two activities can be retained without contradiction.

When I do not ask the questions about the unsuccessful March attempt which Dr. Eisenschiml feels I should ask, I could be avoiding a trivial matter unwarranted by the evidence and the event itself. After all, the subject is Surratt, and the March plot would be quite a digression from that subject, and would serve no purpose.

When John Surratt made his escape from the Papal Zouaves' barracks at Veroli, he vaulted over a balustrade and jumped down a cliff which I said was from twenty to thirty-five feet high. I used these figures for the simple reason that they cover the varying distances given in the dispatches of Rufus King.[3] Since I had no way of determining which figure was correct, I used this estimate rather than make what would have been a guess of the cliff's height.

In contradiction to Dr. Eisenschiml's statement, I do have references for the injuries Surratt suffered in escaping from Veroli.[4] The reason I ask no questions about this escape and pursuit by the Zouaves is the fact that answers would have to be guesses. To ask questions like this when their answers will be guesses is not history. It is interesting and makes good reading in a Sunday supplement but is no contribution to our knowledge.

I reply to Dr. Eisenschiml's question about how John Surratt escaped from the Papal States to the Kingdom of Italy "still wearing his colorful Zouave uniform" in this way: How did he escape all the way to Egypt wearing it?

I hardly think the War Department had more to fear from Surratt's return than did President Johnson. With Stanton still Secretary of War and with the conspiracy trial still so close, I do not think Surratt's return would have

3. Stock, ed., *United States Ministers,* 389-91, 392.

4. See Alfred Isacsson, "John Surratt and the Lincoln Assassination Plot," *Maryland Historical Magazine, LII* (Dec., 1957): 335.

brought out the fact that Mrs. Surratt was judicially murdered. Even today, with all the research done in this field, some historians still present her as hovering protectively over the nest where the egg was hatched.[5] Moreover, I do not make it appear that President Johnson was afraid of John Surratt's extradition to the United States, although Gideon Welles does so in his rather interesting diary. Besides, there are two sides to the story, as my footnotes indicate.[6]

Why the State Department forwarded the statement of Henri de Sainte-Marie to the War Department is what I would call an unanswerable question. In rejecting this, Dr. Eisenschiml might have in mind his Stanton theory. If so, before brushing aside my remark, he should recall that this is a theory not generally accepted. Prescinding from the theory, what is the answer? I have yet to see it in print.

The criticism of my treatment of the trial of John Surratt is quite fair, but space would not have allowed me the extended treatment Dr. Eisenschiml suggested. It is a pity Dr. Eisenschiml's whole article is not equally fair.

The fact of Judge Fisher's illness is only mentioned in my article, but I still think it should receive at least a mention, Dr. Eisenschiml to the contrary notwithstanding. Letters in the Seward Collection at the University of Rochester concerning the matter, and to the best of my knowledge never brought forward, prompted the inclusion of this information in my article.

Dr. Eisenschiml would have me give a "novel" interpretation to the story of John Surratt. What he means by this I do not know. But I do know that any interpretation I

5. See Robert F. McNamara, *The American College in Rome, 1855-1955* (Rochester, N. Y., 1956), 137.

6. See Isacsson, "John Surratt," 334.

might give would have to be substantiated by facts. I personally do not think we have collected sufficient evidence about John Surratt to make a completely adequate interpretation of his actions. There is much yet to be done — more evidence has to be painstakingly gathered. The main part has been woven, but the fringes have to be finished. Until this is done, I do not see how anyone can make anything more than a theoretical interpretation, let alone a "novel" one.

My General Reaction

Dr. Eisenschiml's article omits what is to be sought primarily in a review or criticism of any type: a general evaluation. Of course his rather vague concluding remark that my article made no worthwhile contribution to history cannot be classed as an evaluation. This can be said of much of what is printed today; in fact, of most. Besides, who has set up Dr. Eisenschiml to judge what a worthwhile contribution to history is? Neither he nor anybody else can judge the value of an article without weighing the good and bad; the good, though perhaps hard to find, must figure in a judgment. It is here, it seems to me, Dr. Eisenschiml fails.

What I intended in the article was to gather in one place in as orderly and interesting a fashion as possible all I could find on John Surratt, subject, of course, to the editor's discretion. To the best of my knowledge this had not been done before. On this point my article has a certain value. A historian in the future has a collection of the work of many people to use as a beginning.

To be quite frank, I was surprised to find such sarcasm in a historical journal. Many of the remarks were quite bitter and unnecessary. By using this tack, Dr. Eisenschiml seems to sacrifice ground to use some pet phrases. It is as

though the phrase had to be used. In doing this, he has lost a real opportunity to make a contribution to history by clearing up genuinely erroneous matters and pointing the way to further research. It is as though he threw this away to show where I was wrong. The correcting of *Charles L. Baker* to *Lafayette C. Baker,* for example, could have been done in so many other ways than by being prefaced with: "And talking about wrong names – "

The remarks themselves mean nothing to me. If they did, then I would be a failure at my first calling in life. History is only my hobby. The shame is that so much could have been done and now the opportunity is gone. I have lost nothing by this review of Dr. Eisenschiml's, but you might say the study of John Surratt has.

Dr. Eisenschiml

FR. ISAGSSON'S reply to my review of his article shows that we are on common ground at least in one respect, despite my unchanged opinion that he did not make a worthwhile contribution to history. "This can be said of much of what is printed today," he writes, "in fact, of most." With a deep sigh I agree, thinking of the rehash books which are flooding the market. What I fear is that if largely repetitious matter is also allowed to invade historical magazines, the last remaining refuge for original work will be lost.

My worthy opponent ascribes to me the use of innuendoes. Fr. Isaccson, mud-slinging is the time-worn weapon of the guilty; it is ignoble and unworthy of a gentleman. Fortunately, you yourself nullify your affront by exclaiming: "I am accused. . . . I am accused. . . ." Accusations, being frontal attacks, are the very opposite of innuendoes;

hence, nothing further need be said, except that I am sorry you used this word.

Our aspiring historian insists that he is blameless for misspelling Paine's name, because the wrong spelling was used in the record of the conspiracy trial and is still used by some. In other words, he claims that two or more wrongs make a right. But inasmuch as the correct spelling is now known, on what grounds can anyone justify the perpetuation of an admitted error? Could science or art progress if this were made the rule? Fifty years ago a maxim of chemistry was that atoms cannot be split; yet any chemist upholding this theory today, by quoting authorities of long ago, would make himself ridiculous.

In his article Fr. Isacsson submitted someone else's hypothesis on Surratt's part in the January kidnapping affair, and seems proud that he was "very careful just to quote and not to take sides on this question." I have always thought that historical writers should try to clarify uncertainties, not merely point them out. And while Surratt's "blockade-running" and "reconnaissance work" in January, 1865 are not incompatible with each other, they certainly are with his alleged assignment at the theater, unless one wishes to assume that a man can be in two places at the same time.

Fr. Isacsson tries to explain why he did not delve into the mystery of the unsuccessful March kidnapping attempt. The only way for him to demonstrate to me his historical acumen is to stop explaining, delve into this episode and come out with a *new light* on it. If he succeeds, I shall be the first to congratulate him and shall consider that this

achievement has wiped out the disapprobation I have heaped on him.

In my review I took exception to Fr. Isacsson's statement that Surratt's jump from the prison balustrade measured from twenty to thirty-five feet. "I had no way of determining which figure was correct," says he. Oh yes, you had, my young friend; the answer is "neither." Years ago I went to the trouble and expense of having photographs of the cliff taken, and this distance measured. The result, together with the photographs, may be found in my book *In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death,* page 238.

Regarding another problematical issue, Fr. Isacsson exclaims, "What is the answer? I have yet to see it in print." So now the cat is out of the bag — he has to see everything in print before he publishes it. Is not this the very difference between "a worthwhile contribution to history" and one that is not, between an armchair historian copying what is already in print and one who digs into past events on his own power?

But Fr. Isacsson claims that his article has value, despite its lack of originality, because he has assembled all the known material on Surratt; if so, he has failed signally. He has overlooked, among others, those of my books which deal with Surratt; at least he never referred to them in his footnotes or otherwise, for which I am truly grateful. I should not want to be held responsible, directly or indirectly, for anything in his article.

Fr. Isacsson contends that he has asked no questions about Surratt's escape and pursuit because the answers would have

been guesses, and "guesses are not history." Intelligent guesses, Fr. Isacsson, are known as hypotheses; if proved correct, the truth emerges from them. This is one way by which advances in science and art are made.

Fr. Isacsson complains that I should have given his contribution "a general evaluation." Well, here it is: The article would have provided fair reading for the Sunday supplement of a newspaper where no originality is expected, and where inaccuracies and omissions probably would never be noticed or resented.

Before I close I wish to make some personal remarks. After my review had been published, I found out that Fr. Isacsson was only twenty-five years old at that time, and a beginner in historical endeavors. Nevertheless, I do not think he wants to be babied on account of his youth and inexperience. At any rate, he who enters the ring must expect to get hit. But he might have done what other beginners do — sent his manuscript to people who had previously done work on his subject. Most of them would have held a helping hand out to him — I am sure I would have. In this way the rough edges of his article could have been rubbed off before they appeared in a high-grade magazine, and he would have been spared a great deal of bitterness.

If you, Fr. Isacsson, should give up your study of John Surratt because you have stumbled the first time you faced the public, you will do wrong. You have chosen a fruitful field, and you may yet achieve the goal for which you are striving.

HOWARD F. RISSLER

The Sesquicentennial Of Lincoln's Birth

THE ONE HUNDRED and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln was honored on February 12, 1959 by numerous observances throughout Illinois and the entire United States. One of these — at Urbana — had national significance, while two others — at Washington and Springfield — were international in scope. The Springfield observance followed the precedent set by the Lincoln centennial banquet fifty years earlier — it was on the same site and had as speakers the present-day emissaries of the same foreign countries which were represented at the 1909 banquet. Willy Brandt, governing mayor of West Berlin, Germany, delivered the address of the evening, but he shared speaking honors with the ambassadors of Great Britain, France and Haiti.

The banquet in Springfield was one of a number of activities planned by the Illinois Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, appointed on June 25, 1958 by Governor William G. Stratton to direct the state's observances throughout the year. Newton C. Farr, Chicago realtor and chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, was named chairman of the fifty-one-member commission and Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historian, secretary. O. J. Keller, Sr., president of Springfield radio station

WTAX, headed the banquet committee. The Commission was incorporated on September 11 as a not-for-profit corporation, with Farr, Walton, Richard R. Grummon, Springfield attorney, and Willard L. King, Chicago attorney and historian, named as the incorporators.

In its planning, the banquet committee was guided by the Lincoln centennial banquet of 1909, a fabulous affair that is still remembered as a historical landmark for Springfield. At that time the speakers were the French Ambassador, Jules J. Jusserand; the British Ambassador, James Bryce; United States Senator from Iowa Jonathan P. Dolliver; and William Jennings Bryan, a native of Illinois and thrice a presidential candidate. For 1959 Governor Stratton, on behalf of the Sesquicentennial Commission, issued invitations to the various heads of the Washington diplomatic corps — and a majority of them accepted. Mayor Brandt was invited when it became apparent that he was destined for a major role in a "House Divided" episode of the twentieth century — as Lincoln had been in an analogous situation a hundred years earlier.

Mayor Brandt arrived in Ottawa, Canada, on Friday, February 6, and spent Sunday and Monday in Washington, D.C., where he conferred with President Eisenhower and members of his staff. On February 10 he went to New York and left there by commercial airline on the morning of February 12. The Mayor and his party were met in St. Louis by O. J. Keller, Sr., and flown to Springfield in a plane owned by the Sangamo Electric Company.

The party was greeted at Capital Airport by Governor and Mrs. Stratton. At this meeting the Governor's wife presented Mrs. Brandt a gigantic bouquet of violets — the Illinois state flower. En route to the Executive Mansion,

Mrs. Brandt, left, was presented a bouquet of violets — the Illinois state flower — when she was met at Capital Airport by Mrs. Stratton.

where the Brandts were to stay while in Springfield, the motorcade stopped at Oak Ridge Cemetery, and Mayor Brandt placed a wreath at Lincoln's Tomb.

Preceding the sesquicentennial banquet there was a reception at 5 P.M. at the Leland Hotel given by the Sangamon County Bar Association. Guests were greeted by Governor and Mrs. Stratton, Mayor and Mrs. Brandt, Senator and Mrs. Everett M. Dirksen, Mayor and Mrs. Nelson O. Howarth of Springfield and President B. Lacey Catron, Jr., of the Bar Association and Mrs. Catron.

The auditorium of the Illinois State Armory where the

banquet was held was decorated with bunting around the balcony and with an enlarged replica of the state seal on the wall at each side of the stage. The three speakers' tables on the stage at the west side of the auditorium were arranged stair-step fashion; in the background was a large plaque lettered with the Lincoln quotation: "A house divided against itself cannot stand." The guests were seated twelve to a table and the tables were set in rows at right angles to the stage. Several tables were omitted at the right and the left of the stage to provide space for movie and news cameras. Also, space for about ten tables was taken at the southeast corner of the floor for the University of Illinois Symphony Orchestra. A press table was set up immediately below the platform and running its full length.

Gaper's Caterers of Chicago, which served the dinner, set up a cook tent immediately west of the Armory just as their 1909 predecessors had done. The equipment was shipped by truck several days before the event, and early the morning of the twelfth, two buses filled with cooks and waiters arrived, to be followed at noon by another busload of waiters. These were supplemented by waitresses hired in Springfield. Although the menu was not as elaborate by several courses as the one served in 1909, it was considered sumptuous by 1959 standards: "rock lobster Remoulade en crustade, Melba toast; hearts of celery, jumbo green and ripe olives, rose radishes; limestone lettuce and fresh fruit segments, raspberry sherbet; charcoal broiled aged beef strip loin, sauce demi glace, jumbo mushroom cap; potatoes Hongroise, French cut green beans sauté with water chestnuts and toasted almonds; muffins and assorted rolls; Lincoln Log with chocolate fudge sauce; mints, petits fours; coffee, tea or milk."

The guests at the speakers' tables, in addition to Mayor Brandt, included the ambassadors of twelve foreign countries: Sir Harold Caccia of Great Britain, Hervé Alphand of France, Ernest Bonhomme of Haiti, R. S. S. Gunewardene of Ceylon, Wilhelm Grewe of Germany, Dr. Ali Gholi Ardalan of Iran, Manlio Brosio of Italy, Midhet Juma of Jordan, Georges Heisbourg of Luxembourg, Paul Koht of Norway, Abdullah Al-Khayyal of Saudi Arabia, and Mongi Slim of Tunisia. Also, nine countries were represented by ministers, consuls or other officials: Joseph Trouveroy of Belgium, S. F. Rae of Canada, Nugroho of Indonesia, Dr. David S. Tesher of Israel, Dr. Anatol Dinbergs of Latvia, Joseph Kajeckas of Lithuania, Dr. Ahmed Ben Aboud of Morocco, G. C. D. Hooft Graafland of The Netherlands and Ahmad Zarabah of Yemen.

National and state officials and their wives and the wives of the diplomats completed the total of fifty-nine persons at the speakers' tables.

Following the singing of the National Anthem and the invocation by Rev. Richard Paul Graebel, minister of the First Presbyterian Church — where Lincoln worshipped — Chairman Farr presented Governor Stratton. The latter, in turn, introduced each of the guests at the speakers' tables. Between courses of the banquet Chicagoan Etta Moten sang a number of spirituals, and the Singing Illini, the sixty-member Varsity Men's Glee Club of the University of Illinois, which was seated in the north balcony, presented medleys of Civil War songs. Immediately following the dessert the University Symphony Orchestra presented Aaron Copland's "Lincoln Portrait," with Charles Shattuck as the narrator.

Ambassador Bonhomme of Haiti began the speaking pro-

gram with a brief reminder that it was not until Lincoln's administration — in 1862 — that the United States recognized his country, although it had been a sovereign state for fifty years. He was followed by the British and French ambassadors, both of whom recalled that Lincoln has long been honored in their countries. Sir Harold Caccia of Great Britain said:

To my mind the reason that Lincoln is revered today derives from his passionate faith in the dignity of man, of all men, and his respect for the supreme value of the individual, of all individuals.

It is this faith which is now challenged by Communism. With its materialism and its determinist view of history, it propounds a formula of government the outstanding features of which are the most extreme forms of intolerance, blind obedience, political dictatorship.

In contrast to this, we [Britain and the United States] in our societies have sought to protect the individual from arbitrary government. We do this in many ways, each of which has been won by struggle and suffering.

In France, at the time of Lincoln's death, Ambassador Alphand stated:

A popular subscription was organized for offering a gold medal to Mrs. Lincoln, with each individual contribution democratically limited to two pennies. Forty thousand French men and women contributed. Among them were such great names as Arago, Michelet, Littre, Pelletan, Louis Blanc and Victor Hugo. The medal's inscription paid tribute to Lincoln: "An honest man, who saved the public without dimming the Light of Freedom."

The French Ambassador went on to draw a comparison between America in Lincoln's time and his own country nearly a century later and between Lincoln and General Charles de Gaulle:

In the France of 1958, as in the United States of 1860, the central issue was that "a house divided against itself cannot stand."

Then a man appeared — or rather reappeared — on the French

political scene; a man tall and gaunt as Lincoln, a man also devoid of personal ambition; a man solely inspired by the love of his country and of his fellowmen.

Unlike Lincoln, however, who was almost unknown when he assumed the presidency, General de Gaulle, when he came back last Spring to save France for the second time, was already, to the great majority of the French people, the very embodiment of their last hopes that their house could be rebuilt on the debris of its own divisions and could stand anew stronger than ever. . . .

Great progress has been achieved . . . and we know that General de Gaulle will find a solution to the problem of Algeria and will rebuild our divided house, "without dimming the Light of Freedom."

Following the address by the French Ambassador, Governor Stratton introduced the speaker of the evening, Mayor Brandt. In his greeting to what he called "one of the largest assemblies of representatives from around the world ever gathered in our state," the Governor said, in part:

I bid you welcome to this land where Lincoln walked with life and where his spiritual presence still abides. I suggest that a gathering of this kind here every year might be beneficial to the world, for here tonight we emphasize the values of humility, of belief in the rights of all, of the might that is made by right.

In 1858, Lincoln said our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in our bosoms. Our defense is in the preservation of the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere. This is the principle at stake in Berlin today. It is the principle for which brave men gave their lives in Hungary. It has closed the ranks of free nations to an extent never before considered possible against the threat of a new era of despotism and slavery. Nations that once fought against each other have joined, not only in common defense of their security, but in united works for the human betterment of their peoples. The European economic community is a giant step forward toward asserting what Lincoln held to be "the natural right of man to eat the bread, without leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns" . . . .

There are countries, where, in the main, economic development

has lagged, where living standards are low and individual privation is a constant target of alien propaganda aimed at the overthrow of democratic institutions. Here . . . is an area in which the free nations can and should join in common planning and common action. The experience and know-how of our combined foreign services add up to an immense reservoir of knowledge that can be put to valuable use in establishing a joint program for people-to-people exchanges between Europe and the United States on the one hand and those nations of Asia, America, and Africa where the will to freedom is still alight. By their visit to the final resting place of the humble man who will always be Illinois' first citizen, the distinguished representatives of our sister nations abroad have here pointed the way to that more personal relationship between their people and ours which will be so greatly needed in the days ahead to preserve freedom in a troubled world.

Governor Stratton then presented Mayor Brandt as "a man in the Lincoln tradition." Since his arrival on this side of the Atlantic, Brandt had been interviewed on several occasions by reporters and had made a nationwide television appearance. He had answered questions on everything related to his trip — with the possible exception of Lincoln — so that his audience was able to anticipate most of what he said. However, in his prepared speech he paid tribute to Lincoln and compared Lincoln's problems and his own. He spoke forcefully, with a trace of an accent, and on several occasions drew his audience's applause:

I wish to say to you here in Springfield, as well as to all the people of America, how greatly we are indebted to you. I have just passed several pleasant and encouraging days; and they have strengthened my conviction that Berlin can rely on its friends and that we shall march forward shoulder to shoulder, permitting nothing to come between us. . . .

The truths which Lincoln spoke here in Springfield in June 1858 [the "House Divided" speech] are perhaps even more applicable to the present situation of the German people than to the one he faced: that is, to the arbitrary disruption of their lives, for

which, of course, they are not without guilt themselves. I can only tell you that the Germans in the East and in the West have not accepted this situation and that they will not accept conditions under which a son is separated from his mother, a brother from his brother. . . .

Talk goes on about creating a "free city of West Berlin." But what the Soviet announcements proclaim in this context means anything but freedom for the citizens involved. No, Berlin is to be "free" from the Americans and the other Western powers, it is to be "free" from its economic and legal relationship with the German West, "free" from freedom. Let me answer in Lincoln's words, namely, that you can fool some of the people all of the time and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time.

Those who talk about a "demilitarized" city and who accuse the West of wanting to prolong artificially the occupation status, want, in fact, to squeeze out Berlin like a lemon by means of the ring of Soviet divisions encircling the city and to absorb what is left into that part of Germany ruled by the Communists. For us, the Americans, the British and the French in Berlin are not occupation powers embarrassing to the interests of the population. We regard them as protecting powers and our friends. . . .

We ought to understand that the East wants nothing but a unilateral change in circumstance to their own advantage and to the disadvantage of the West. This is unacceptable because of the people living in Berlin; it is also impossible because a capitulation in the Berlin question would have far-reaching, devastating consequences, and because a new and permanent settlement cannot be built upon the breach of justice and treaty law.

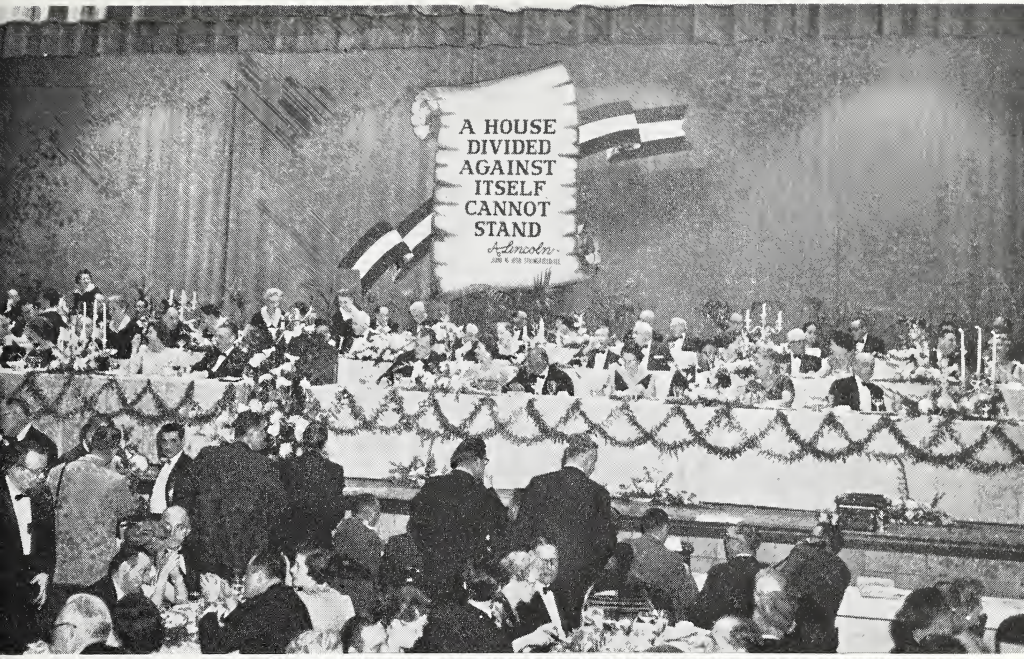
This can[not] and will not come to pass. You can rely on the people of Berlin. We know how important it is to preserve peace, but we do not want to lose our freedom. If freedom is at stake, we will bend our knee to nobody.

Since shortly after the end of the Berlin blockade the Freedom Bell has hung in the town hall of West Berlin. It came to us from your country with parchment scrolls bearing the signatures of fifteen million American men and women. Each day at 12 noon we listen to the sound of this bell, which reminds us of what we have to preserve and what we yet have to achieve.

> The Freedom Bell also reminds us of the immortal work of Abraham Lincoln. . . . Engraved on our Freedom Bell are these noble words from the Gettysburg Address: "That this world — Lincoln said 'nation,' but today he, too, would include the whole world — under God shall have a new birth of freedom."

Mayor Brandt received a standing ovation at the conclusion of his talk. Following the singing of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" by the audience and the University Glee Club, the benediction was pronounced by the Most Rev. William A. O'Connor, Bishop of Springfield in Illinois, to close the evening's festivities.

As a souvenir of the banquet each guest was presented a copy of a booklet, *Ten Lincoln Letters,* specially printed for the occasion and autographed by Governor Stratton. Its twenty-four pages contained facsimile reproductions of ten letters in the collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, with a transcription on the facing page or immediately following the letter. The booklet was edited by State Historian Walton, who also wrote the introduction. While they were not intended to present an autobiography of Lincoln, the ten letters selected do portray ten phases of his career — the first, dated July 1, 1834, was written when Lincoln was the postmaster of New Salem and the last, on December 21, 1860, when he was President-elect. Among the other eight letters is the famous one he wrote to his stepbrother, John D. Johnston, on November 4, 1851, which includes the only known note to his stepmother; another is a long letter he wrote to Mrs. Lincoln on April 16, 1848, while he was serving as a congressman in Washington; and a third is a reproduction of a note he used on the platform during the debate with Stephen A. Douglas at Jonesboro, Illinois, on September 15, 1858.



PHOTOS BY BILL CALVIN AND WARD JOHNSON, STATE PHOTOGRAPHERS

The speakers' table at the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Banquet in Springfield. The picture on the front cover of this Journal *was taken while Governor Stratton was introducing Mayor Brandt, who is seated at right of the lectern.*

These booklets, along with the banquet programs, have since become collector's items — in fact, they were being collected even before the crowd had left the Armory. As soon as the doors were thrown open, several "collectors" went around the tables and picked up all that they could find — some guests had theirs disappear when they turned around to put on their coats.

A final tabulation has shown that there was a total of 1,233 diners at the banquet — including the fifty-nine guests at the speakers' tables. There were an additional 1,353 tickets sold to the balcony where visitors could hear the speakers. (Dinner tickets were $17.50 and balcony seats $1.00.) These people, plus the members of the glee club and orchestra, the ushers, waiters and other attendants

would bring the total attendance at the affair to a conservative three thousand. In addition to the diplomatic representatives from Washington, the visitors included a large group from Chicago, others from all parts of Illinois and a few from as far away as Wichita, Kansas, and Great Neck, New York. Following the banquet the Governor and Mrs. Stratton entertained members of the diplomatic corps at a reception at the Governor's Mansion, where Mayor and Mrs. Brandt were overnight guests. The next morning at the time when the Mayor's party was scheduled to leave Springfield by plane, Capital Airport was "fogged in," and it was necessary for them to use State Police cars to reach St. Louis in time to resume their scheduled round-the-world flight.

On the evening before the Springfield event another banquet was held at the Hotel Statler-Hilton in Washington under the sponsorship of the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia and the national Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission. The speaker of the evening was scheduled as the Rt. Rev. Richard S. M. Emrich, Episcopal Bishop of Michigan. But the speaker who was quoted in news reports of the event was President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Although he did not mention the subject specifically, newsmen interpreted some of his quotations from Lincoln as a plea for a balanced budget. The complete text of the President's remarks was:

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice-President, and distinguished guests, it is natural, I think, that speaking last in such a program as this, we should expect some duplication and repetition. But I should reassure you as I begin, by saying that my talk is only five or six minutes, so if there are these inevitable duplications, I may hope and pray that you do not find them lengthy or too boring.

Ninety-eight years ago the President-elect of the United States

boarded a train in Springfield, Illinois, to start the long journey to his nation's capital. That same day a Washington newspaper reported the election in Montgomery, Alabama, of another President, Jefferson Davis, and from Fort Sumter came a report of preparations for attack.

In bidding farewell to Springfield, Lincoln shared his innermost thoughts with old friends. In part, he said, "I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever, I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance I cannot fail."

Four years and two months later Abraham Lincoln was dead — but the Union again united. Now, said Secretary of War Stanton, "he belongs to the ages."

But Abraham Lincoln belongs not only to the ages, but to all humanity. Immortality is his in the hearts of all who love freedom everywhere in the world.

Each year two million people visit the Lincoln Memorial in Washington.

In New Delhi, a Lincoln society is establishing a museum in his honor. High school students in Tokyo last summer ranked him as the most respected of all world figures.

"Of all the great national statesmen of history," Russia's Tolstoy thought, "Lincoln is the only giant."

In the Caucasian Mountains, a wild chieftain asked of a visitor, "Tell us about the greatest ruler in the world. We want to know something about this man who was so great that he even forgave the crimes of his greatest enemies and shook brotherly hands with those who had plotted against his life."

The first President of modern China, Sun Yat-sen, found his three basic principles of government in Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

For many years India's Prime Minister Nehru has kept, on the study table, a brass mold of Lincoln's right hand. "I look at it every day," Nehru tells us, "it is strong, firm and yet gentle . . . it gives me great strength."

The birth, one hundred fifty years ago, which we here honor, gave the nation a son who a half-century later was summoned to lead our republic through the tragedy of civil war. And as Lincoln fought for union and liberty he insisted always that "the struggle of

today is not altogether for today — it is for a vast future also."

As we turn our eyes to that future, other words of his seem applicable. He said: "The tendency to undue expansion is unquestionably the chief difficulty. How to do something, and still not do too much, is the question. . . . I would not borrow money. I am against an overwhelming, crushing system. Suppose, that at each session, Congress shall first determine how much money can, for that year, be spared for improvements; then apportion that sum to the most important objects."

That the spirit of Lincoln be close at hand as we meet each successive challenge to freedom is the earnest hope of all Americans — indeed it is the hope of freedom's sentinels wherever they stand.

Pushing always ahead in our quest for a just peace and freedom for all men, we can do no better than live by his prescriptions: "By the best cultivation of the physical world, beneath and around us; and the intellectual and moral word within us, we shall secure an individual, social, and political prosperity and happiness, whose course shall be onward and upward, and which, while the earth endures, shall not pass away."

Thank you very much.

At 11 A.M. of the following day, a joint session of Congress was held in the House of Representatives. In response to a resolution passed on January 7, 1958, which instructed the Committee on Arrangements to "select a distinguished Lincoln scholar to deliver the memorial address," Carl Sandburg was chosen as the speaker. The guests at this event included members of the Supreme Court, the President's Cabinet, the nation's military leaders and members of the diplomatic corps. (Many of the latter left immediately after this joint session to fly to Springfield for the banquet that night.)

The Sandburg talk was preceded by a reading of the Gettysburg Address by Actor Fredric March. Sandburg received a tremendous ovation both when he entered the hall and when he had finished reading his 1,800-word ad-

dress. Many newspapers published the talk in full, and those that carried any mention of it at all used this first paragraph:

Not often in the story of mankind does a man arrive on earth who is both steel and velvet, who is as hard as rock and soft as drifting fog, who holds in his heart and mind the paradox of terrible storm and peace unspeakable and perfect. Here and there across centuries come reports of men alleged to have these contrasts. And the incomparable Abraham Lincoln, born one hundred fifty years ago this day, is an approach if not a perfect realization of this character.

Some reporters excerpted other sentences and paragraphs as particularly quotable. Among these were:

During the four years he was President he, at times, especially in the first three months, took to himself the powers of a dictator; he commanded the most powerful armies until then assembled in modern warfare; he enforced conscription of soldiers for the first time in American history; under imperative necessity he abolished the right of *habeas corpus;* he directed politically and spiritually the wild, massive, turbulent forces let loose in civil war. . . . In the month the war began he told his secretary, John Hay, "My policy is to have no policy." Three years later in a letter to a Kentucky friend made public, he confessed plainly, "I have been controlled by events" . . . In the mixed shame and blame of the immense wrongs of two crashing civilizations, often with nothing to say, he said nothing, slept not at all, and on occasions was seen to weep in a way that made weeping appropriate, decent, majestic. . . .

Among the million words in the Lincoln utterance record, he interprets himself with a more keen precision than someone else offering to explain him. His simple opening of the House Divided speech in 1858 serves for today: "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it." To his Kentucky friend, Joshua F. Speed, he wrote in 1855, "Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that 'all men are created equal, except Negroes.' When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read, 'all men are created equal except Negroes

and foreigners and Catholics.' When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty" . . . .

Wanting Congress to break and forget past traditions, his words came keen and flashing. "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate for the stormy present. We must think anew, we must act anew, we must disenthrall ourselves."

The third major observance of the sesquicentennial birthday was at the University of Illinois, Urbana, where attention was centered on a series of lectures by four Lincoln scholars. These lectures have been published by the University of Illinois Press under the title *The Enduring Lincoln.* The four author-lecturers and their subjects were Roy P. Basler (Abraham Lincoln: An Immortal Sign), T. Harry Williams (Abraham Lincoln: Pragmatic Democrat), David Donald (Abraham Lincoln: Whig in the White House) and Norman A. Graebner (Abraham Lincoln: Conservative Statesman). Graebner, professor of history at the University, also served as editor of the book, a review of which will appear in the Autumn *Journal.*

While these three were the major Lincoln sesquicentennial observances, there were others all over the country — at Hodgenville, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Monmouth, Decatur, and at least half a dozen in Chicago, to name only a few. And radio, television, the newspapers and magazines, all made their contributions to the occasion. The *Chicago Tribune* and *Sun-Times* both published a color reproduction of a Lincoln painting on their front pages on February 12 — and the *Tribune* also reprinted in color ten of its best Lincoln cartoons from previous years.

Lincolniana Notes

A Note on the "Lincoln Letters Theme"

In referring to the promotional circular issued by the Rutgers University Press in advance of the publication of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,* Mr. King V. Hostick, in his article in the Spring, 1959 *Journal,* takes exception to the following sentence: "The editors estimate that *The Collected Works* contains ninety-nine per cent of all existing Lincoln material, and it is unlikely that more than a handful of items not included in this set will ever turn up." Mr. Hostick continues:

> I certainly do not wish to quarrel with the claim of *The Collected Works,* but it is my opinion that there are today still many more unfound Lincoln letters and writings. That "one per cent" which the promotional circular allowed certainly will not be adequate. Based on the number of unpublished Lincoln letters I have handled and others of which I have a first-hand knowledge, I would estimate that at least two hundred such letters have "come to light" since *The Collected Works* was published. And more will continue to appear in the years ahead.
>
> In this two hundred, the largest group is that acquired by Brown University, numbering about fifty-six items.

Perhaps the promotional circular was too optimistic, but the evidence presented by Mr. Hostick certainly does not support his contention.

Of the items referred to as having been acquired by Brown University, actually forty-three in number, I find all but twelve appearing in *The Collected Works.* Of an additional thirteen items more recently acquired by Brown University, only four do not appear in *The Collected Works.* Thus out of a total of fifty-six items acquired by Brown University only sixteen are unpublished.

Furthermore, since "legals" were not included in *The Collected Works* by definition, in the expectation that a volume of legal documents might properly be published at a later date, the certainly very

large number of these was not considered in the estimate that *The Collected Works* would contain ninety-nine per cent of Lincoln material.

It is a matter for hope that sufficient new Lincoln material may be accumulated eventually to justify a supplement to *The Collected Works,* but as of this writing it is my opinion that all of the items not included in *The Collected Works* which have turned up since 1952 would fall far short of attaining one per cent of either the wordage or pages of *The Collected Works* as a whole.

Roy P. Basler
Library of Congress

Sesquicentennial Stamp Series Completed

The series of four postage stamps issued by the Post Office Department to honor the sesquicentennial anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln is now completed. Philatelists will remember — and others may be interested to know — that the Lincoln centennial stamp of February 12, 1909 was the first single commemorative stamp issued by the United States, although sets for revenue-producing purposes had been issued for the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago, 1893), the Trans-Mississippi Exposition (Omaha, 1898), the Pan-American Exposition (Buffalo, 1901), the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (St. Louis, 1904) and the Jamestown Tercentenary Exposition (Jamestown, Virginia, 1907).

The present set began with a four-cent Lincoln-Douglas Debate stamp, issued at Freeport, Illinois, on August 27, 1958. The second was a one-cent stamp with a reproduction of the George P. A. Healy portrait of Lincoln, issued on February 12, 1959, at Hodgenville, Kentucky, the nearest post office to Lincoln's birthplace. The third, a three-cent stamp bearing a reproduction of the Gutzon Borglum head of Lincoln now in the rotunda of the Capitol in Washington, was issued in New York City on February 27, the ninety-ninth anniversary of Lincoln's famous speech at Cooper Union in that city. This stamp also served to commemorate the centennial of the found-

ing of Cooper Union by inventor, industrialist and philanthropist Peter Cooper.

The last of the series, a four-cent stamp reproducing the head and shoulders of the Daniel Chester French statue in the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, was issued in the national capital on May 30, recognizing the Civil War origin of Memorial Day. Each of the four stamps, in addition to the main design, bears the facsimile signature "A. Lincoln."

Springfield Lincoln Plaque Rededicated

The First Presbyterian Church of Springfield, which the Lincoln family attended from 1850 to 1861, which Mrs. Lincoln joined on October 13, 1852, in which Lincoln spoke on colonization on August 30, 1853, and in which their youngest son "Tad" was baptized on April 4, 1856, was not on the site of the present church at Seventh Street and Capitol Avenue but at Third and Washington streets. The congregation moved to the present church in 1872, and the old building was razed in 1912.

The site was marked by a plaque until the buildings there were remodeled a few years ago, when the plaque was lost. In November, 1958 James Patsche, a tenant of one of the buildings, discovered the plaque in the basement and turned it over to State Representative G. William Horsley. The latter placed the plaque in the hands of the Springfield Historical Monuments Commission, which had it renovated and reattached to the northeast corner of the building at 306 East Washington Street — as near as possible to the actual site of the old church. It was rededicated on December 5 by the Rev. Richard Paul Graebel, present pastor of the First Presbyterian Church.

The Lincoln pew (number 20) and the church bell were transferred from the old church to the new one in 1872. The bell is still used every Sunday to announce services, and the old pew, marked with a silver tablet, occupies an honored place in front of the sanctuary.

Lincoln Statue Dedicated at Barrington

A heroic bronze head of Lincoln, created by Carl Tolpo, nationally known sculptor, was dedicated at Barrington on November 23, 1958. The memorial is located in a small park on the grounds of the high school.

Tolpo, who lives near Barrington, was the principal speaker at the dedicatory ceremonies, and State Senator John A. Graham also spoke. The invocation was given by the Rev. Eugene B. Nyman, pastor of the Barrington Baptist Church. Van Bussman read the Gettysburg Address. Arnett C. Lines unveiled the monument, which was presented to the community by Village President Martin H. Schreiber. The acceptance speech was made by Martin L. Cassell, Jr. Wilson McCoy, who draws the comic strip "The Phantom" and who originated the idea of the Lincoln head for Barrington, presided. The Barrington High School chorus, under the direction of Katherine Baer, sang "The Star-Spangled Banner," and the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars presented and retired the colors. James Rand Sparling, a student, led the pledge of allegiance.

The community citizens' committee responsible for the dedication included E. I. Bierkness, chairman; Schreiber, Mr. and Mrs. McCoy, A. C. Buehler, Mr. and Mrs. Corliss Anderson, F. H. Beinhoff, F. C. Thomas, James Debolt, Jr., Wilton F. Kuffel, Henry Lipofsky, Mrs. Philip Bash, Paul M. Toycen, Wright Catlow and Ray M. Jurs.

Robert Lincoln Home Saved from Wreckers

The Chicago mansion at 1234 Lake Shore Drive which Robert Todd Lincoln built in 1893 and in which he lived until 1911, when he moved permanently to the East, is to be preserved. It had been scheduled to be wrecked to make room for a million-dollar fifteen-story apartment building, but Mr. and Mrs. Titus Haffa, who own adjoining property at 1242 Lake Shore Drive, felt that the home of the only Lincoln son who lived to maturity should not be destroyed. After some litigation the Haffas' offer of "twice the amount of the appraised market value" — an esti-

mated $160,000 — was accepted. "In the land of Lincoln," said Haffa, "it would be unthinkable not to try to preserve this historical building. It is our hope that we can retain this mansion as a 'shrine to the memory of the Lincoln family.' "

Additions to Knox College Lincoln Collection

A collection of "Lincoln Books" — the same editions Lincoln is known to have studied — has been presented to Knox College in honor of Carl Sandburg. Mrs. Donna E. Workman of Chicago gave the college her own collection, acquired over a period of many years, and then purchased the collections of four other specialists in the field to include with her gift.

The books, Mrs. Workman wrote to President Sharvey Umbeck of Knox, will be of much more use in an institution where students and researchers will have access to them. Since her inspiration to begin this collection was drawn from Sandburg, "a great son of Galesburg and an alumnus of Lombard College [later merged with Knox]," she wrote, the collection was presented to Knox in his honor.

The college, where the fifth Lincoln-Douglas debate was held in 1858, plans to make further additions to the collection from time to time.

Lincoln Log Cabin Replica for Peoria

A replica of Abraham Lincoln's log cabin birthplace is being constructed at Glen Oak Park in Peoria, and it is hoped that the building will be completed by August when the annual picnic of the Peoria County Old Settlers' Association will be held. Three representatives of the Old Settlers — Henry W. Stein, 85, oldest past president; R. N. Brons, current president; and Luella P. Harlan, program chairman — took part in the ground-breaking ceremonies.

Prizes Offered for Lincoln Essays

Two prizes of $500 each are being offered for the best essay of 1,250 to 1,500 words on the subject "Reflections While Standing before the Lincoln Memorial." One of the two prizes will go

to a nonprofessional writer and the other to a professional — author, journalist, historian or teacher of American history. The offer has been made in a joint announcement by Broadcast Music, Inc. and the American Association for State and Local History.

Entry blanks and official rules may be obtained by sending a stamped, self-addressed envelope to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield. The Library is one of the agencies in twenty-eight states that are co-operating in the program. The preliminary judging will be done through these agencies and the two best essays — one professional and one nonprofessional — from each will be forwarded to the Association office in Madison, Wisconsin. There the five best entries in the two classes will be selected. The final judging will be done by a panel of distinguished historians, scholars and outstanding Americans. One of the two winning essays will later be used as the last program in a Broadcast Music public service radio series titled "The Abraham Lincoln Story, 1809-1959."

This Lincoln series is a part of a longer one, "The American Story," which was begun in 1954 by Broadcast Music and the Society of American Historians. More than two hundred radio programs have been distributed to radio and television stations, boards of education, libraries and educational institutions in an effort to bring authoritative history to wider audiences. The series has won awards from Freedoms Foundation and the American Association for State and Local History. Also, the first sixty programs have been published in book form under the title *The American Story*, which has been distributed as a dividend book by the Book-of-the-Month Club and the Literary Guild.

Entries in the Lincoln essay contest must be postmarked not later than September 1, 1959. Announcement of the winners will be made on or before February 12, 1960.

Library Week Banquet Honors Lincoln Authors

More than thirty authors who have written about Abraham Lincoln within the past five years were guests at a banquet held

in Springfield on April 17 as a part of the observance of National Library Week in Illinois.

Principal speaker for the event was David C. Mearns, head of the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress and author of *The Lincoln Papers* (1948), *Lincoln and the Image of America* (1953) and numerous other works. The subject of his talk was "Lincoln's Reading."

In his other role as State Librarian, Secretary of State Charles F. Carpentier had invited nearly one hundred fifty Lincoln authors to attend. The guest list was compiled from book and pamphlet catalogs and from a canvass of historical magazines as well as those of general interest. While most of the author-guests were from Illinois, there were several from New York and Rhode Island.

Before the main address Toastmaster Ralph G. Newman, senior vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society and himself a Lincoln author, introduced each of the writers and told something of his or her work. These honored guests were: James N. Adams, Springfield; David A. Anderson, East Lansing, Michigan; Bernadine Bailey, Chicago; Maynard J. Brichford, Springfield; Clarence A. Brown, Milwaukee; C. C. Burford, Urbana; Charles H. Coleman, Charleston; Raymond N. Dooley, Lincoln; John J. Duff, New York; Ernest E. East, Springfield; Harold W. Gammans, Newport, Rhode Island; Joseph George, Jr., Bristol, Rhode Island; Carolina T. Harnsberger, Winnetka; Carl Haverlin, New York; James T. Hickey, Elkhart, Illinois; Carl G. Hodges, Hallie H. Holt, William J. Hosking, and King V. Hostick, all of Springfield; Mrs. Dorothy Kunhardt, Morristown, New Jersey; Otto R. Kyle, Decatur; Mrs. Maude Lanham, Springfield; F. DeWolf Miller, Knoxville, Tennessee; Mrs. Adele G. Nathan, New York; Reed M. Perkins, Springfield; Mrs. Marion D. Pratt, Springfield; Lucy Lucile Tasher, Normal; Wayne C. Townley, Bloomington; C. E. Van Norman, Galesburg; Louis A. Warren, Fort Wayne, Indiana; and Bruce E. Wheeler, Springfield.

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

Seldom is the designation "family papers" more descriptive than in the case of the King Family Papers recently received at the Historical Library on deposit from Mr. Philip D. Sang of River Forest. Some seventeen members of this Morgan County family are represented by the nearly 2,600 items ranging in dates from 1798 to 1927. Readers of this *Journal* will be familiar with one part of the collection, which was edited by Walter B. Hendrickson and published as "The Happy Soldier: The Mexican War Letters of John Nevin King," in the Spring and Summer numbers of 1953.

David King, patriarch of the clan, is represented by more than 400 items, mostly business correspondence (1810-1871) datelined Ireland, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and, finally, Meredosia, Illinois. Of David's eight sons who lived to maturity, the abovementioned John was the most prolific writer, as well as the most widely traveled. His letters reporting an overland journey to California in 1850 are vivid and frank. Never quick to complain of physical hardships, this veteran nevertheless had to conclude, in a letter from the coast to a brother, that "no person who has crossed the plains could ever (if possessed of any feeling) advise any person to attempt it. Banish from your cranium all such ideas unless you could come by sea." John's many letters from the Pacific Northwest in the years 1857 to 1868 are also of considerable interest as documents of the boundary surveys in that region. A fine series of student letters from John at Bethany College, in Virginia, 1841-1843, and from brother Thomas Clark King at Illinois College, 1854-1858, are also included. Another brother, David, Jr., wrote of life at Cairo in the opening days of the Civil War, and later (1878-1880) of his missionary work in the Indian Territory.

Reflecting its interest in recent economic and social issues is the Historical Library's acquisition of a group of some sixty books and pamphlets on American labor history. Included are memoirs, contemporary tracts and scholarly studies that will add new usefulness to associated material in the Library's labor collections.

Book Reviews

THE LAST DAYS OF LINCOLN: A PLAY IN SIX SCENES By Mark Van Doren. (Hill and Wang: New York, 1959. Pp. 152. $3.75.)

Of the six scenes which comprise this play, the first and last are set in "William Petersen's house, across the street from Ford's Theatre, a few minutes after seven o'clock on the morning of April 15, 1865." They provide, as the President lies dying and, finally, dead in an adjoining room, a sort of Greek Chorus of enveloping commentary on the man and the event which marked a climax moment in American history. The four scenes which lie between are flashbacks, set respectively in the "President's Office, the White House, March 23, 1865," "Grant's Headquarters, City Point, Virginia, March 25th," "Jefferson Davis's Office, the White House, Richmond," and the President's Office, "the Same as Scene Two. Morning, April 10th." In all four of these scenes the dramatic tension is built through discussion of surrender terms for the South — should they be harsh or generous; and the question is: what kind of Union may be restored between North and South? The conflict lies chiefly between Lincoln and those who oppose his policy of generosity in victory (Stanton, Sumner, Wade and Chandler) or refuse in defeat his proffer of restored friendship (Duff Green: "And the South, sir, will never cease to hate you"), with a minor subconflict between Lincoln and his wife, whose jealousy cannot tolerate her husband's slightest appreciation of attention from another woman, even when that appreciation is grounded in the most forgivable of male egotisms, a liking for compliments on his appearance.

Thus, the play is simple to the extreme in its dramatic elements, but within this simple context a profoundly affective drama is engendered, and the personality of Van Doren's Lincoln is vividly projected according to the "iron and velvet" metaphor which Carl Sandburg so aptly has coined to describe the mystery of Lincoln's character.

If one may assume that the readers of a historical journal are interested in literary quality and achievement as well as in accuracy of historical interpretation, then the first thing to be said of this play is that it belongs in the first rank of literary works about Lincoln, of whatever genre. As a play it is, over-all, certainly bet-

ter than the best of the older plays which stand up at all under comparison with it: Robert Sherwood's *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* (1939) and John Drinkwater's *Abraham Lincoln: A Play* (1919). There are no false notes, either in Lincoln or in the minor historical characters—Joshua Speed, General Grant, Admiral Porter, John Hay, Duff Green, David Davis, Charles Sumner, Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Grant, to mention some of the principal ones — such as jar the ear of Lincoln or Civil War aficionados in many scenes and speeches of Sherwood's work, because of Sherwood's lack of prolonged and intimate study of the historical persons whom he attempted to project, and likewise in many scenes and speeches of Drinkwater's work for the same reason, and for the additional one that Drinkwater lacked an American ear. Drinkwater was best when he stuck closest to Lincoln's own historically recorded words. The same can be said to some extent of Sherwood also, and of Norman Corwin, whose current, very effective, *The Rivalry* is a kind of tour de force of adaptation and paraphrase of the words of Lincoln as recorded throughout his life, concentrated in the period of the debates with Douglas. But effective as Corwin's documentary technique is, it lacks the true creative touch which enables Mark Van Doren to distill the essence from the record and to project not only Lincoln but other characters as well, in a composite scene which is at once original and true to the record. Although this is the outstanding achievement of the entire play, it was most remarkable to this reviewer in Scene Three, in which the not by any means explicit historical record of what took place between Lincoln and Grant at City Point is recreated with a restrained humor and imaginative finesse which the historian can admire no less than the literary craftsman.

Since this is the first really successful poetic play about Lincoln, something must be said about both the verse and the poetry in it. Drinkwater also employed verse to some extent, of course, and even achieved an essential poetry throughout his play. One must not detract from what has always seemed to this reviewer the outstanding quality of Drinkwater's play, whatever its other faults, in comparing it with Van Doren's. Both Drinkwater and Van Doren appreciate to the full the fundamentally poetic quality not only in the personality of Lincoln but also in the epic events in our nation's history which Lincoln molded and was molded by. But Drinkwater was less successful in finding the necessary verbal means of expressing this poetic quality. What Edmund Wilson has remarked as the poetry that Lincoln put into his life, as differentiated from what he put into his speeches and

writings, is comprehended by both Drinkwater and Van Doren, but the poetry that Lincoln put into his own words is something else again. Drinkwater quite literally adapts some of the best passages in Lincoln's writings to his own use, with good effect, but when he cannot, or at least does not, so adapt, and relies upon his own creative powers, he flounders badly. Van Doren's method is an adroit dodge of the perhaps insurmountable difficulty of having the best of Lincoln's own expression clash with, or reduce the impact of, his own. Lincoln is the only character in Van Doren's play whose lines are in prose, while the others speak in blank verse. But this is not all; even the prose which Lincoln speaks completely avoids the use of any of the well-known and memorable passages in which Lincoln fixed forever the issues, and the idea, and emotions of his era in a poetic Lincolnian mold. About the only use he makes of words Lincoln is recorded as having said is in brief snatches and pithy metaphors, such as when Lincoln says to Grant at City Point, "I seem to remember some talk of your holding one hind leg of the enemy — this leg, the Virginia leg — while Sherman skinned the other"; or when Lincoln recalls for Duff Green in Richmond his impression of Alexander Stephens at the Hampton Roads conference, "I remember saying I had never seen such a little nubbin come out of so much shuck." Even this little device of having Lincoln quote himself might better have been avoided, for to the Lincoln specialist, if not to the general reader, it stands out, with repetition, as a bit obvious at times.

It is an ironical truth that Van Doren's success grows from scene to scene largely by avoiding that aspect of Lincoln which is most widely known to the literate audience. Perhaps the device succeeds because this is the one aspect which can be assumed in common between author and audience, but it also marks the limits of the play. Drinkwater tries to project both the private man and the public figure and measurably fails. Van Doren largely leaves out, but assumes, the public figure, and succeeds. Perhaps it is perverse to quarrel with success, but when a writer takes Lincoln for his subject he may expect his reader to want more than he gives.

The poetry of Van Doren's play will not be quoted in after years as Lincoln himself liked to quote Shakespeare, for the simple reason that neither the blank verse spoken by other characters, nor the informal prose spoken by Lincoln, ever flames. There is penetration and understanding and there is emotion, but there is little daring. For what is meant by "daring," the reviewer refers the reader to another new poetic play about Lincoln, Gil Orlovitz's *Gray: A Play in Thirty-Nine Scenes Based in*

Part on Some of the Events in the Life of Abraham Lincoln, which appeared in the Winter, 1958-1959 issue of *The Literary Review* (Vol. 2, No. 2). *Gray* does not succeed as *The Last Days of Lincoln* does; perhaps it was not meant to succeed, and may even have been expected by its author to fail, but it flames occasionally with a quality of imagination not previously applied to Lincoln or to the epoch of the Civil War, and every Civil War addict or Lincolnist should read it for a new experience.

There is still room for a great play to match the man and the epoch.

ROY P. BASLER
Library of Congress

HISTORIAN'S HANDBOOK: A KEY TO THE STUDY AND WRITING OF HISTORY

By Wood Gray and Others. (Houghton Mifflin Co.: Boston, 1959. Pp. vi, 58. $1.00.)

"Many books discuss historical methodology. A considerable number of them are cited in the footnotes of the pages that follow. Among such works this Handbook is unique in the degree to which it is both comprehensive and concise. Its purpose is to introduce the college freshman and general reader to the nature of history, with suggestions as to how he may study it effectively; to guide the advanced student through the preparation of a term paper or thesis; and to offer the practicing historian a convenient reference manual."

This is the author's answer to the question every prospective buyer will ask: "Can I get the essentials here for a dollar, or should I spend a little more and get, say, Kent, Hockett or Barzun and Graff?" The answer this reviewer would suggest is that this is a good dollar's worth, but it is not as comprehensive as claimed. It has something for everyone, but not enough for anyone. As an aid for teaching undergraduates, it may be the best choice; omissions can be filled in the classroom. But for the lone worker, or the writer for publication, it is inadequate. In particular, it gives no consideration to printers' requirements where they differ from professors' requirements. No printer, for example, likes to see anything single-spaced — neither footnote nor long quotation nor any other thing. One of the strong points of this work, on the other hand, is the author's helpfulness in pointing out where fuller discussions of many points may be found. In this sense, it is indeed a "key to the study and writing of history."

THOMAS E. FELT

BEN BUTLER: THE SOUTH CALLED HIM BEAST! By Hans L. Trefousse. (Twayne Publishers: New York, 1957. Pp. 365. $5.00.)

The latest biography of Ben Butler adds little to our understanding of the Massachusetts lawyer and mill owner whose colorful military and political exploits were headline material from 1860 to 1884. Four nineteenth-century works, including the subject's own *Butler's Book,* give as clear a picture of the "Hero of New Orleans" as do Robert S. Holzman's *Stormy Ben Butler* (Macmillan, New York, 1954) and Professor Trefousse's biography.

The present volume suffers from a lack of analysis. On pages 19, 20 and 21, the author advances oversimplified reactions to childhood environment as the reasons why Butler became a lifelong Anglophobe, a friend of labor and an opponent of the aristocracy. Butler's evident success in law and real estate should receive more attention. The acquisition of a $140,000 fortune in thirteen years calls for an explanation. In devoting nearly one-half of the book to Butler's highly publicized wartime career, the author has neglected his more significant prewar and Reconstruction activities. The extensive treatment of Major General Butler might have been excusable if the reader found a clear appraisal of his wartime military and administrative activities. While no major differences of opinion exist concerning Trefousse's story of Butler in Maryland, Louisiana and Virginia, the author has not gone to the original military records to give a definitive statement of Butler's successes and failures as a military man.

The absence of analysis regarding Butler's military career is duplicated in the account of his political life. In prewar politics, Butler sustained repeated defeats at the polls. Even during his postwar political shiftings, he lost elections as often as he won them. The author has not answered such fundamental questions as — Was Butler's political career a hobby financed by a private fortune? Did he use politics to build his private fortune? Was his lack of political success due to idealism or opportunism? The fuzziness in this biography may be due to the overabundance of source material. Two hundred seventy-seven boxes of Ben's papers in the Library of Congress, tons of documents in the National Archives (which were not used by the author), three doctoral dissertations, two theses and five previous biographies have supplied the trees. Who will see the forest?

Despite shallow interpretations, the biography has several strong points. The New Orleans epi-

sode is well done, and the over-all factual content is adequate. The author has frequently captured the color of "Bottle Ben," the polemicist. His subtitle — "The South Called Him BEAST!" — dramatizes Butler's controversial reputation. Color, controversy and a long career do not justify a biography. The biographer must know his subject, his motivations, his activities and their effect. With historians again mounting a scholarly attack on the Radicals and Stalwarts of the Reconstruction period, it is high time for someone to do a biography of Ben Butler the man.

MAYNARD BRICHFORD
Illinois State Library

THUNDER AT HARPER'S FERRY
By Allan Keller. (Prentice-Hall, Inc.: Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1958. Pp. 282. $4.95.)

The most dramatic episode leading up to the Civil War was probably John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry (then Harper's Ferry) on the night of Sunday, October 16, 1859. The story of how he and his "army" of eighteen followers captured the United States arsenal and armory and held them until Tuesday morning was well recorded at the time and has been retold by half a dozen authors — several of them in very recent years. This story, of course, includes Old John's capture by twelve Marines under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee, and his trial and execution on December 2, in the Jefferson county seat, Charles Town, West Virginia (then Charlestown, Virginia).

Now that the center of the West Virginia town of Harpers Ferry and the surrounding Maryland Heights, and Loudon Heights, in Virginia, are in the process of being turned into a national monument, more books, and magazine and Sunday supplement articles can be expected on the subject.

The present teller of the John Brown story has twenty-five years of New York newspaper writing experience behind him, and he handles the details of a complex action with skill. But his reportorial excellence suffers under the handicap of an editorial bias. It is so pronounced that it almost seems that he must have been influenced by watching too many TV westerns where the good guys (John and his band) are good through and through. He describes Old John as a "bearded patriarch" (page 7), "kind and gentle" (page 16), "calm and thoughtfully polite" (page 65), "cool and fearless" (page 150), with a "granite-like composure" (page 213). Prior to his appear-

ance at Harpers Ferry, Old John's principal claim to fame occurred when he directed the cold-blooded hacking to death of five men near the Pottawatomie River in Kansas on a May night in 1856. Why the author omits this episode from the biographical sketch near the beginning of the book is difficult to understand. He does bring it in on page 184, so perhaps it has something to do with the TV game: the good guys must be entirely above suspicion — at least until they have been established as all good.

On the other hand, the bad guys (the Virginia citizenry, militia, lawyers, etc.) are not portrayed as all bad. While the author does commend certain actions of numerous individuals (among them Colonel Lee; Captain John Avis, the jailor; special prosecutor Andrew Hunter; Colonel Lewis W. Washington, one of Brown's prisoners; and Mayor T. C. Green of Charlestown), he considers the natives generally as "excited rustics."

These rustics would have had great difficulty, however, in identifying their county seat from the author's description. He says that the houses surrounded a "central square" (page 167), but there was no square and the town centered about the right-angle crossing of two streets, with the courthouse, market house and jail on three of the four corners. The next sentence states that Jefferson County was a "busy section" with "coal mines" when the nearest mine is at least fifty miles away. And the farmers in an area due east of Macoupin County, Illinois, would have been surprised to learn that their "plantations . . . grew tobacco and had hundreds of slaves who chopped cotton from spring to late summer." It would have been a difficult trick, too, for the carpenters, after they had built Old John's scaffold, to "look westward toward the Blue Ridge" when these mountains are to the southeast. This lack of a sense of direction is repeated on numerous occasions.

The author says that when Brown was a prisoner he could "through the bars of his cell . . . see fine carriages passing in the wide street" (page 168). And then, when he was being taken to the scaffold, "the big horses strained against their collars, and the vehicle lurched off down the narrow street" (page 267) — this, of course, must have been the same street.

Incidentally, the wagon that carried Old John on his two-way ride to the scaffold and back again is described as a "lumbering farm vehicle" (page 267). If the author were interested, the present owner, Melvin T. Strider, Charles Town mortician, would have been glad to show it to him. He would have found it a comparatively light wagon with a paneled bed that would not have been a strain

on one small horse, much less on two "big animals."

These are a few of the inaccuracies that will keep this from becoming the definitive story of John Brown at Harpers Ferry. The book does have an adequate index and a signature of sixteen pages of pictures as illustrations. The one of the courthouse where the trial was held, however, was taken after it had been made into a two-story structure following the damage of the Civil War. At the time of the trial it was a one-story building. H.F.R.

THE KING CAN DO NO WRONG

By William L. Reuter. (Pageant Press, Inc.: New York, 1958. Pp. 62. $2.50.)

This little volume, the title of which remains unexplained, purports to "preserve a valuable incident that affected American history very much. It is written to dispel some doubts as to what actually happened to the man who shot . . . Lincoln." The promised enlightening is to come from the lips of Lieutenant Colonel Everton J. Conger, leader of the expedition which cornered Booth on the Garrett farm, whom a friend interviewed in 1916. Conger's words, however, do not dispel any doubts as to what happened to Booth because there are no doubts to dispel. And the only new material Conger brought forth was not evaluated by Reuter, who evidently was unaware of its significance.

The Introduction to the volume suffices to disqualify it as a valid historical document. After giving his testimony following the tragedy, Conger did not speak out until fifty-one years after the event; his story is told "mainly" in his own words, as recorded by a stenographer, who rewrote it in the third person; and if this were not enough to vitiate it, "the narrative contains . . . additional descriptions concerning the times, events and places mentioned." Yet nowhere can one find an indication which part of the narrative is Conger's and which Reuter's.

The same observation pertains to the many inaccuracies which are spread liberally throughout the volume. Lincoln did not "refuse official protection in his jaunts," although he did not like it; but from 1862 on he accepted a cavalry escort, and later he was also accompanied by a city detective. On the evening of April 14 Mrs. Lincoln would hardly have said, "We shall be late, it is now nine o'clock," for the simple reason that it was eight o'clock when the Lincolns left the White House. We know this, because the presidential party arrived in the theater about half-past eight, after having stopped to pick up

Major Rathbone (not Rathburn) and his fiancée. In the Petersen house Mrs. Lincoln and her son did not "wait in the room below," because there was no such room in the house. Furthermore, while Booth was hiding on the Cox farm, his companion Herold was not "able to secure food from a few farmhouses." Both fugitives were fed exclusively by Thomas A. Jones, Cox's half-brother, and would not have dared make their presence known to others.

The "valuable incident" which, so the author claims, "brought about at least in part" the capture of Booth, is described in great detail, although its relevancy is not visible to the naked eye. A Negro, whom Conger had once liberated from a jail in Port Marlborough, two years later reported that he had seen two men in a boat crossing the Potomac, and identified one of them from a photograph as Booth. How much reliance can be placed on his identification is questionable, and no proof is offered that his information was used. Strangely enough, there is no mention in the entire volume of Lafayette C. Baker, who master-minded Conger's pursuit of the assassin.

The story proceeds in well-worn grooves to the point where Booth fell in with three Confederate soldiers, Jett, Bainbridge and Ruggles. Reuter — or was it Conger? — calls Jett, a former officer, a private, and spells Bainbridge's name Bainsborough. The account then follows the official version without adding anything new, with one exception, but this exception may throw some light on a disputed phase of the assassination imbroglio. A few years ago this reviewer published his conclusion that it was probably Conger, not Sergeant Corbett, who shot Booth.* If Conger's recollections are to be trusted, they support this view.

"Corbett stood before him [Conger] . . .," we read. "He turned to the wall to avoid Corbett's gaze." Why should Conger have shied away from Corbett's gaze, unless he was startled by a confession which he knew to be untrue? What follows strengthens this impression. He next tells about returning to Washington and reporting to Judge Advocate Holt, who ordered him to prepare charges against Corbett. Conger deliberately ignored the order, whereupon it was repeated a week later. Again he side-stepped it by declaring he had not fully understood its meaning. Holt then gave him the order in writing, but, instead of complying, Conger appealed to Stanton, who told him in a half-hearted way to obey it. "I won't . . .," Conger declared stubbornly. "If I have got to suffer for it, I have got to, that's all." To this mutinous outburst the ordinarily imperious Secretary re-

* *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Autumn, 1950.

acted meekly. He took the order away from Conger, and this was the last anyone ever heard about it. Yet, Conger's open defiance of the highest authority in the War Department notwithstanding, he received $15,000 of a $25,000 reward, which had been offered for Booth's apprehension, not for his death. These doings are a strong reminder of the sworn statement given by Lieutenant L. B. Baker, second in command of the pursuers: "I supposed . . . that Conger shot him [Booth]. . . . Then the idea flashed on my mind that if he did, it had better not be known."

It is to be regretted that Reuter did not publish Conger's story in its original form, but used stale material to blow it up into a book. As an interview it might have been a fairly interesting historical item, but as a book it will be a keen disappointment to the students of Lincoln's assassination.

Otto Eisenschiml
Chicago

SCHOOLCRAFT'S EXPEDITION TO LAKE ITASCA: THE DISCOVERY OF THE SOURCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Edited by Philip P. Mason. (Michigan State University Press: East Lansing, 1958. Pp. 390, bibliography, index. $7.50.)

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft organized and led an expedition in 1832 which reached the true source of the Mississippi River, Lake Itasca, Minnesota. Two years later Harper and Brothers published his *Narrative,* which, with appendices and Schoolcraft's official report, was republished in 1855 as *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River in 1820: Resumed and Completed by the Discovery of Its Origin in Itasca Lake in 1832.* It is this volume that Dr. Mason and the Michigan State University Press have made available in a modern format.

Dr. Mason proved himself to be a skillfully competent editor; his notes and, particularly, his introduction are both interesting and informative. In addition to Schoolcraft's work, letters written by others on the expedition — Dr. Douglass Houghton, the Rev. Mr. William T. Boutwell and Lieutenant James Allen — are appended; the daily journals of all three are also included, and those of the Rev. Mr. Boutwell and Dr. Houghton are published here for the first time. Lieutenant Allen's journal, which had appeared as a *House Executive Document* and also in the *American State Papers,* rivals Schoolcraft's *Narrative* in its attention to detail and its excellence of composition.

In summary, this is a book

which belongs in every library of American history. Schoolcraft was, as Dr. Mason says, "one of the most remarkable men of the nineteenth century. . . . His books on exploration and travel in the Old Northwest were widely read by his contemporaries and gave him an international reputation." His *Narrative,* after one hundred twenty-five years, still holds the reader's attention. This reviewer would, however, suggest to the authorities of the Michigan State University Press that it is an imposition on the reader to produce an excellent book of almost 400 pages devoted to travel and exploration, but to ignore — except on the endpapers — the maps necessary to understand the terrain the explorers traversed. Surely proper maps could have been provided. C.C.W.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MARK VAN DOREN
By Mark Van Doren. (Harcourt, Brace & Co.: New York, 1958. Pp. 354. $5.75.)

This is a delightfully written and beautifully reminiscent volume which the reader will enjoy, even though it is sometimes overdetailed and is interspersed with Van Doren's mystical poetry. Although a friend and warm admirer of Mark Van Doren's, the reviewer is not able to appreciate this poetry as many others seem to do. But that is neither here nor there — Mark Van Doren has given us a pleasing volume of autobiography which is also a penetrating commentary upon late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American life.

Van Doren treats, especially, of four American scenes: his life on a farm near Hope, Illinois, where the five Van Doren brothers, Carl, Guy, Frank, Mark and Paul, were born; the University of Illinois in the early 1900's, where the brothers all became students; New York City and its Columbia University; and, finally, the lovely Cornwall area of northwestern Connecticut, where two of the brothers, Carl and Mark, established their homes.

You will like the chapter entitled, simply, "Hope, 1894-1900." Hope was, and is, a hamlet on Illinois Route 49, in western Vermilion County, where the father of the Van Doren boys practiced medicine. A physician of the "eclectic" school — different from the allopathic and homeopathic, in those years of sharply divided and sometimes bitterly antagonistic schools of medical practice — Dr. Van Doren drove day and night with a stout team of horses, or rode horseback if the mud was too deep for buggies, to visit his many patients. Since the doctor

was also a farmer and sheep-feeder, the family home was on a farm within sight of the village of Hope.

Those were years of quiet life on the farm. There was little traffic on the highways — if we can call them highways — and horses were not only a means of transportation but were also family friends, each with his own name and his own place, or "stall," in the barn, where there were also ponies, cats and dogs. It was here that Van Doren acquired a love for animals which he never outgrew.

In 1900, when Mark was six years old, the family moved to nearby Urbana because of its educational advantages. Even though it was the home of the state university, Urbana was a typical country town, with its horse-drawn vehicles and electric street cars. The interurban railroad which later ran to Decatur and Danville was opened in 1903. Mark rode this old-time interurban. Urbana also had its excellent Twin City Chautauqua, which Mark served two summers as "assistant secretary."

At the University of Illinois, which even then was considered "too large" with only 3,000 students, Carl and Mark Van Doren came under the influence of Stuart Pratt Sherman, one of the University's great scholars of English literature. "He was the finest teacher I was ever to know," Van Doren recalls. "His mind was rich and he was always discovering new depths in his own understanding."

After graduating from the University, both Carl and Mark went on to New York for further study at Columbia University, where both became teachers, and began to write. Carl was the first to establish a reputation as an author, but Mark was not far behind in winning public acclaim. Carl was awarded a 1938 Pulitzer Prize for his biography of Franklin, and Mark received the same award the following year for his *Collected Poems*.

Even a brief review of the Mark Van Doren *Autobiography* cannot be complete without mention of Mark's older son Charles, who zoomed to fame on a TV quiz program in the winter of 1956-1957.

Of this event, his father writes, "He answered endless questions and made (for a teacher) fantastic sums of money. The notable thing was that approximately thirty million listeners fell in love with him. Nuns in convents prayed for him. Little girls and United States Senators competed to see which of them could praise him more. Teachers wrote to him to thank him for making the intellect respectable again. My relatives and many old friends — unheard of as many as fifty years — wrote to me about our tall, modest son."

Say what one will about the plight of the scholar, his life has many advantages, and Mark Van Doren has made full use of them. Consequently, his autobiography is a gratifying story of a rich life.

C. C. Burford
Urbana

HISTOIRE DE LA LOUISIANE FRANÇAISE. TOME II. ANNÉES DE TRANSITION

By Marcel Giraud. (Les Presses Universitaires de France: Paris, 1958. Pp. 209. 900 fr.)

In 1953 Marcel Giraud, professor of North American history at the Collège de France, published in Paris the first part of what promises to be the definitive history of French activities in the Mississippi Valley. Volume I of his *Histoire de la Louisiane Française (Le Règne de Louis XIV, 1698-1715)* opened with a summary of French explorations of the late seventeenth century; from this the author moved to his primary concern, the peopling and development of Louisiana. The first major act was the establishment of Biloxi on the Gulf coast in 1699 by the Canadian officer Le Moyne d'Iberville. More than 350 close-packed pages carried the story forward to the death of Louis XIV, through all the complexities of its political, commercial, agricultural, financial and religious involvements. With the almost untapped wealth of the French archives at his command, Professor Giraud wrote authoritatively. His work was admirably documented; his bibliography was extensive and comprehensive. Of special interest to Illinois readers, of course, were the passages on the founding of Cahokia (1699) and Kaskaskia (1703).

This volume was not M. Giraud's first to claim the attention of students of Mississippi Valley history. In 1945 the Institut d'Ethnologie in Paris published his *Le Métis Canadien, son Rôle dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest.* This monograph of 1,296 large pages is the final word on that race of halfbloods who were neither French nor Indian but a new people, as every student of fur trade history, every reader of western and northern travel and exploration, has long known. M. Giraud has traced their origin and shown their significance in the history of western Canada and of the Upper Mississippi and the Missouri rivers.

Now, in *Années de Transition,* the second volume of his *Histoire de la Louisiane Française,* Professor Giraud continues his study of the French in the Mississippi Valley from 1715 through the close of the Crozat régime to 1717,

a brief period indeed but one that has required 200 pages for an adequate presentation. There have been no exciting events to record, but there has been much to investigate. In the history of the colony the period is one of marking time with better things to come. The Crozat monopoly is failing; the Company of the West is not yet established. Financial difficulties are great, discouragements many. Increased interest by the Council of the Marine, partly influenced by the concern of men of science and heads of government, brings attention to the problem of peopling the country. Efforts are made to encourage emigration. The population almost doubles, to reach perhaps 550 in 1717. People of various classes go out: transported false coiners, if married, are permitted to carry their families with them; girls are sent from L'Hôpital, workmen go as contract labor, enterprisers seeking fortune join the Canadians and French who had opened the country. The cultural level, we are not surprised to read, is low. Many are illiterate; no religious group has yet shown interest in the colony or in education. Luxuries are few except in clothes. Dangers beset Louisiana from the Spanish to the west and from the British to the east. In all this the Illinois country plays small part, for its settlements are few and very small, but the author has duly noted what was happening there and has fitted it into his larger picture.

M. Giraud, then, has given us another volume ably managed, pleasingly written, full of meat and as definitive as a work of history can ever hope to be. In his next we can look forward not merely to the founding of New Orleans but also to the building of Fort de Chartres.

JOHN FRANCIS MCDERMOTT
Washington University

A SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF IMPORTANT BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND BROADSIDES RELATING TO MICHIGAN HISTORY

By Albert Harry Greenly. (The Stinehour Press: Ludenburg, Vt., 1958. Pp. 165. $25.00.)

The potential owner and user of a bibliography that describes itself as selective has a right to know what the canons of selection were and the qualifications of the person who made those selections. In the present case, the answer to the first part of the question is to be found in the fifth word of the title, "important." Or to be more precise, the books that Mr. Greenly deemed impor-

tant. His name is a weighty one among the book collectors and bibliographers of the Old Northwest. His studies have included works on Julia A. Moore — the "Sweet Singer of Michigan," Father Hennepin, Baron Lahontan, and on the press of Father Richard in Detroit. Drawing on his own vast experience and using his own judgment, he has given us, in 124 entries, the "Best Books" of Michigan history. In doing so, he has chosen a bibliographical method that may raise the eyebrows of the professionals seeking to establish a purity of form and content in bibliographical method, but he has created, as Howard Peckham describes it in the Introduction, "a rarity among bibliographies: it can be read."

With but one or two exceptions, all books are elaborately described in the formal manner with line endings and full collations by both signature and pages. Variant states are noted in great detail. The holdings of thirty-one libraries and collectors are recorded for all but the most common books. The descriptions are confined to the first editions only, although translations and scholarly editions are sometimes mentioned in the notes. The distinctive feature, however, is what might be called the "narrative notes." These are descriptive accounts of most of the books listed in the bibliography. The accounts vary from book to book, but on occasion include a synopsis of the contents, the conditions under which the book was written and published, the relation of the succeeding to the preceding entry, notes on the author and references to further works on the subject. The arrangement is roughly chronological, beginning with Champlain's *Des Sauvages* of 1604 and ending with Allan Nevins' *Ford* of 1954, a span of 350 years.

Mr. Greenly has not broken his arrangement down into formal groupings, but they cover the following general areas: the exploration and discovery of New France, the French and Indian War, the English occupation and Pontiac's War, Indian captivities, the beginning of the Michigan Territory, the War of 1812, Lewis Cass and nineteenth-century exploration and travels, statehood and the Toledo War, the early local histories and, finally, the books that first tell of the nineteenth-century growth of the state. The last item includes titles on such subjects as railroads, mineral deposits, lumber and the automobile industry.

Because this constitutes a personal selection, "additions to Greenly" could easily become a fascinating indoor sport, and this reviewer would like to suggest one title he would have liked to have seen included. It seems to me that the *Jesuit Relations* ought to be present. True, the problem of describing the more than forty different volumes and their variants would not have been feasible

in the present work, but it would have been possible to describe the first one, give a brief account of the series, and then refer the reader either to the Thwaites edition or to the catalogue of the James F. Bell collection at the University of Minnesota.

In the opinion of the reviewer, Mr. Greenly has succeeded admirably in doing what he set out to do. The quarrels one can find are with the titles left out, not with the ones put in. However, 124 items are a goodly company. Except for one thing, this book could serve as a handsome catalogue of the best exhibition on Michigan ever mounted by a library. The one exception is the fact that no one library owns all the items. A tabulation of the locations of copies shows that the best collection includes only half of them. The top four are the Detroit Public Library, with its Burton Collection, 61; Yale, 61; the Library of Congress, 54; and the University of Michigan, with the William L. Clements Library, 50. Michigan can take pride in the fact that it has two collections that outstrip many older and more famous libraries. In both cases, however, Michigan should know that this pre-eminence is due in large measure to the devotion and skill of two private collectors, Clarence M. Burton and William L. Clements, and to the librarians who succeeded to the responsibility for the continued growth of the collections. It would be interesting to know whether any other state in the Old Northwest, if called upon to compile a list like this, could produce two of the top four collections.

Inasmuch as this is a personal and selective bibliography, I would like to close with a personal and selective tabulation, giving the location of copies of the twenty-two items printed before 1801. It goes as follows for the leading six libraries: the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, 19; the Henry E. Huntington Library, 17; the Newberry Library, 17; the New York Public Library, 16; Yale, 16; and the Library of Congress, 15.

THOMAS R. ADAMS
The John Carter Brown Library
Brown University

A VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS: JESSE WALKER, THE DANIEL BOONE OF METHODISM

By Almer Pennewell. (Published by the Author, 8256 North Ozanam Avenue, Niles, Illinois, no date. Pp. 192. $1.25.)

This little volume is a labor of love. The author has spent many long hours of research in digging out the movements of Jesse Walker, one of the important pioneers of early Illinois his-

tory. Walker (1766-1835) came to Illinois a dozen years before the admission of the state to the Union. He was among the Territory's first Methodist preachers. Walker found in Illinois a white population of less than 5,000, perhaps half of it French.

Methodism and civilization generally owed a great deal to Jesse Walker. He labored long and faithfully among both the whites and the Indians. One of the younger men who were brought into the ministry by him was Peter Cartwright. As the Rev. Mr. Pennewell comments, Cartwright became better known because of "better press agency," but it is doubtful whether his influence was much greater than Walker's. Walker rode many miles through cold and heat, often hungry, to minister to the early pioneers of the state. Like most other clergymen of his time he got little material reward for his efforts.

This volume might be better called a chronicle than a biography or history. The reader has to wade through an extensive listing of the travels of Walker to glean an idea of the man. As a historian, this reviewer would like a little more of Walker in terms of his ideas. This may be an impossible demand because preachers of Walker's type did not write their sermons and left few personal records. The author had to depend on the testimony of others and on the bare comments of church records. The historian would also like some documentation which is almost entirely lacking. Likewise, an index would be helpful. It should be realized, however, that the book was privately published and the addition of these things might have made the cost prohibitive. Jesse Walker deserves a biography. It is unfortunate that some agency cannot provide the funds so that such authors would not have to depend upon their own resources for publication.

DONALD F. TINGLEY
Eastern Illinois University

THOMAS WORTHINGTON, FATHER OF OHIO STATEHOOD

By Alfred Byron Sears. (Ohio State University Press for the Ohio Historical Society: Columbus, 1958. Pp. xiii, 260. $5.50.)

That an adequate biography of Worthington should not have been written before this late date is understandable since the great bulk of his personal papers was kept in the family until 1949, but at the same time it is unfortunate. Here is one of the more edifying success stories of the Old Northwest. Called the Father of Ohio Statehood for his work in representing the territory's Republicans against the Federalists in the period before 1803, he was almost

equally prominent as a defender of the new state in Washington (as senator, 1803-1807 and 1808-1814) and in the militia and the governorship during the War of 1812. However much he loved politics, power and office, Worthington was never the professional politician. He maintained a large farm, a distillery, a ropewalk, meat-packing plant and orchards, was active as a land speculator, banker and canal builder, and, withal, made a wide reputation as a negotiator with the Indians. For an orphan boy from Virginia, the Ohio Tammany leader had come a long way.

Professor Sears has presented the story in some detail and with considerable care. His work will be welcomed as a reference. As a biography, however, it will seldom be read through. Its lack of movement and wit, in combination with the publisher's unfortunate choice of small, closely set italics in printing the long quoted passages, make sustained attention a real effort.

THOMAS E. FELT

News and Comment

Two Days in Illinois' Fleur-de-Lis Country

French Illinois, where the history of the state began, was visited by the Illinois State Historical Society for two days of touring and eating on Saturday and Sunday, May 9 and 10.

An interesting program, perfectly planned and executed by the Randolph County Historical Society, combined with near-ideal weather to lure a record-breaking attendance to several of the events. Headquarters was at the spacious American Legion Building on the edge of Chester, and the city administration and civic organizations co-operated to assure the success of the occasion.

Following registration on Saturday morning, the first session was held in the dining hall of the Legion Building, where the tables were already set for the luncheon. In the lobby of the building were an exhibit of some of the early records of the county and a display of the work of Roscoe Misselhorn, Sparta artist. There were about forty sketches in the collection, and most of them were of scenes in either Randolph County or southern Illinois — many of which would be seen during the next two days' tours.

Marvin H. Lyon, Jr., of Moline, president of the State Historical Society, presided at the meeting and introduced Mayor Dietz Helmers of Chester and Mrs. Willard J. Spurgeon, president of the Randolph County Historical Society, both of whom extended a welcome to the visitors. Past presidents of the State Society were also introduced, those present being Ralph E. Francis of Kankakee, John W. Allen of Carbondale, Philip L. Keister of Freeport, Alexander Summers of Mattoon and Ernest E. East of Springfield.

Louis E. Aaron of Harrisburg then gave a brief history of the area to be visited on the afternoon tour. In his talk he described the customs, clothing, houses and life in general of the earliest French settlers, and related a number of incidents associated with their folklore.

The morning's second speaker was Melvin Fowler, curator of anthropology for the Illinois State Museum. For the past six seasons he has directed the anthropological diggings at the Modoc Rock Shelter, about fifteen miles up the Mississippi from Chester. His talk was illustrated with color slides of scenes at the site and of artifacts uncovered there. These

diggings, he said, revealed that the "shelter" had been used for human habitation as long ago as 8000 B.C., making it the earliest known inhabited area in North America. He added that the location had been occupied steadily until 2000 B.C. and after that had been used as a camp site by roving tribes. Following this talk the Chester American Legion Auxiliary served a dinner-size luncheon to the 180 guests present.

The afternoon tour caravan, consisting of five buses and eight cars, left the Legion Building at 1:00 P.M., took a route leading through town and across the city-owned bridge, through the village of St. Mary's to the Church of the Immaculate Conception, near the middle of Kaskaskia Island. There the tourists filed into the church to hear the Rev. Carl Pimeskern give a brief history of his parish, which was the first established in the Mississippi Valley. In 1894 the present church was moved "brick by brick and stone by stone" from its original site in the old town of Kaskaskia five miles to the north. Along with it came the baptismal font, several paintings of the Stations of the Cross and other furnishings from the first church. The once-large parish has now dwindled to about forty-five families, Father Pimeskern reported.

Adjoining the church grounds to the south is a small brick building housing the original Kaskaskia church bell, which is maintained as a state shrine. This bell, called the "Liberty Bell of the West," was cast in France in 1741 and was given to the parish by King Louis XV. As the visitors filed through the building, every tenth or twelfth person had to try the clapper to see if it worked — it did.

From the church the caravan retraced its route to the main highway and proceeded north to Ste. Genevieve, Missouri. The streets there are too narrow for a bus tour, and since the sites to be visited are within walking distance, the tour members disembarked at Du Bourg Place in front of the Church of Ste. Genevieve. Most of the group visited the church to see its beautiful stained glass windows and seven hand-carved marble altars. Then they started walking tours of the old French town; they visited the first brick building west of the Mississippi (now a tavern and restaurant), the Jean Baptiste Vallé House (built in 1782 and known as the "Statehouse"), the Indian Trading Post, the Green Tree Tavern, the museum and library and other historic sites, assembling at the Bolduc House where tea was served by members of the Woman's Club of Ste. Genevieve. This house, which is considered an excellent example of Creole construction, was built about 1770 by Louis Bolduc, pioneer trader and miner. It has recently been restored to

its original appearance by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Missouri. The gardens of Bolduc House are being replanted with the flowers, fruits and vegetables of the eighteenth century. In the gardens of surrounding houses were many more flowers than were in bloom in towns farther north in Illinois — some of them being peonies, Oriental poppies, roses, day lilies, spirea, rose of Sharon and irises. After the tea the buses returned the crowd to Chester in about forty minutes, arriving shortly after 5 P.M.

Thundershowers began at about 6 P.M. and continued intermittently throughout the night but did not interfere with the Society's evening program which was held in the Veterans of Foreign Wars building. Preceding the banquet there was a social hour, featuring the serving of a great variety of hors d'oeuvres.

After the 210 guests had had a dinner of southern fried chicken, John W. Allen gave a brief history of the New Year's Eve custom of the singing of "La Gui-Année," which he said had been practiced uninterruptedly at Prairie du Rocher for 237 years. The purpose of his talk was to supply background material for a part of the next day's tour.

The speaker of the evening was Mlle. Jacqueline Bertrand, deputy consul general of France at Chicago. Her forty-five minute paper traced the course of French exploration and colonization in the Mississippi Valley and the association of that region with Canada and New Orleans. Franco-American relations were brought up to date with this paragraph:

> Today another danger is threatening the world and, for the same reasons that inspired Washington and Lafayette, once more the United States and France find themselves side by side so as to resist international communism. This defensive association is called the North Atlantic Pact, but the spirit that inspires our two governments is exactly the same that drove the forces of the United States and France at Yorktown in 1781, at Saint-Mihiel in 1918, on the beaches of Provence and on the banks of the Rhine in 1944.

She closed by saying:

> At a time when the democracies, the world over, are subjected to the attacks of a new despotism, I am fully confident that our two republics, because they have been born together, because in following the same principles they have prospered together, . . . have remained allies through the ages — I am fully confident that once more and in the grave circumstances of the moment, thanks to our determination and to our union, we shall know how to preserve our freedoms and peace.

Mlle. Bertrand's talk was followed by a concert of early French music by the Southern Illinois University string ensemble, a quartet, and a choral society octet — four men and four women in colo-

nial costumes. Between numbers by the ensemble, the octet sang four chansons unaccompanied.

The next morning the cavalcade of four buses and a dozen cars left the Chester Legion Hall at 10:10 A.M. and went north out of town past Evergreen Cemetery, with its monument to Shadrach Bond, the state's first governor. The route then passed by the grave of Dr. George Fisher, physician-politician who was the county's first sheriff, and by the Modoc diggings, where the tourists noted that present-day farmers still use the rock shelters — as storage places for farm machinery. The caravan passed through Prairie du Rocher and pulled up for its first stop at Fort de Chartres — where the Stars and Stripes were whipping in the breeze between the French Fleur-de-Lis and the British Union Jack. The Randolph County 4-H Club's prize-winning square dancers were waiting when the group arrived and went through several routines before the loudspeaker was turned over to Louis Aaron for a brief outline of the history of the fort — the halfway point between Quebec and New Orleans. At one time the fort's stone buildings spread over four acres inside an eighteen-foot stone wall.

Fifteen or twenty minutes were allowed for a quick look through the fort before the tourists were back on their buses for the return to Prairie du Rocher and a "Hunt Breakfast" in the dining hall of St. Joseph's School. Incidentally, the menu consisted of fried ham, scrambled eggs, hot rolls, asparagus, grape jelly, whole canned peaches, sweet rolls and coffee.

The group was welcomed to Prairie du Rocher by Mayor William M. Shea — an Irishman in a predominantly French town — and the Society's thanks were expressed by Past President Alexander Summers. The Rev. Theodore Sieckmann, of St. Joseph's Church, then gave a brief but entertaining history of his parish and the town. Among the unusual features he cited were the fact that the school itself is owned by the Church but is administered by the public school board; the school still has the income from a grant of land made by King Louis XV; the parish registers, still in existence, began in 1721; the cemetery nearby has been in continuous use since 1722 and has never been flooded; and a group of Indians settled at the town after the French had established it. He added that although the name of the town has since been shortened, its original name meant "beautiful prairie beneath the rock."

Father Sieckmann then introduced a group of La Gui-Année singers — six men and three women in costumes and masks. One of the men also played a violin and another a guitar, and all of

them accompanied the old French song with audible foot-tapping.

By 1:30 P.M. the tourists were back on their buses and headed for Fort Kaskaskia, where they disembarked at the shelter house on the bluff overlooking the Mississippi. From there they strolled back a quarter of a mile or more past Pierre Menard's grave and Garrison Hill Cemetery and the trenches and hillocks that once were the ramparts of the fort. There they boarded the buses again.

The last stop of the day was at the Pierre Menard Home, which the State Division of Parks and Memorials is in the process of restoring. The 4-H square dancers directed by Florene McConachie had preceded the tour and were dancing on the lawn when the visitors arrived. Richard S. Hagen, a director of the State Society and historical consultant for the State Department of Conservation, acted as host for the department on this occasion. On being introduced to the group, he announced that French "high tea" would be served in the main hall of the Home and "low coffee" would be available on the back porch in front of the separate kitchen, where bread was being baked in the fireplace oven. There was a large supply of folding chairs available, and after inspecting the house, many of the visitors took their tea (or coffee) and sat out on the lawn and enjoyed the breeze. The "low coffee" menu consisted of ham sandwiches made with homemade bread or rye bread and cheese sandwiches, corn bread with honey butter, and spiced coffee. The "high tea" was tea or punch, petits fours, decorated cookies and mints. As the day progressed, more tourists joined the group, and by evening "Boniface" Hagen estimated that more than five hundred had visited the home of Illinois' first lieutenant governor.

The first bus left the Menard Home at 3:55 and the last at 4:30; by 5 P.M. the last of the visitors had left the Chester Legion Hall, and the 1959 Spring Tour of the Historical Society was at an end.

SPRING TOUR NOTES: President Marvin H. Lyon, Jr., was called back to Moline Sunday morning by the death of Mrs. Lyon's sister, Mrs. Earl Sherrard, at St. Anthony's Hospital, Rock Island. Mrs. Sherrard, who had been ill for several months, was the former Henriette Clarke and a member of a pioneer Rock Island family.

During the Saturday tour Mrs. Eugene C. Elliott of Danville fell on the steps of the church at Ste. Genevieve. She was taken to the hospital in Chester by Clyde Walton, and there it was learned that she had suffered a fractured pelvis. The next day she was taken by ambulance to a Danville hos-

pital, where, at latest reports, she was recovering satisfactorily.

Since there was no hotel in Chester large enough to be used as headquarters for the tour, Mrs. Willard Spurgeon's local arrangements committee had difficulty finding suitable accommodations for the banquet speaker, Mlle. Bertrand. The problem was solved when Warden Ross Randolph offered the guest apartment at the establishment he operates down by the river.

Ed Akers, proprietor of *The Randolph County Newspapers* (*Chester Herald-Tribune, Red Bud Pilgrim, Prairie du Rocher Sun* and *Evansville Enterprise*), was very much interested in the tour and attended several of the meetings. On the front page of the second section of his papers for May 8, he reproduced the front page of the *Randolph County Democrat* of May 7, 1859 — the weekly edition of exactly a hundred years ago — plus several pictures of Kaskaskia buildings that are no longer standing.

The handsome twenty-page *Spring Tour* booklet received by each of the visitors was the work of Raymond H. Groff and John W. Allen. It was published by Southern Illinois University through its Printing Service department. It contained brief historical sketches of the sites visited (and some not visited), plus a map of the two tour routes. Anyone knowing nothing about "French Illinois" could get a good idea of its history simply by reading this booklet.

On Friday night Mrs. John S. Gilster opened her spacious home — with the cupola — for an informal reception, at which some of the early arrivals had an opportunity of meeting Mlle. Bertrand.

Tours sometimes have a tendency to slow down and get behind schedule but not this one, thanks to Ebers Schweizer, the Randolph County Society's travel chairman, guide extraordinary and walking loudspeaker system. On Saturday afternoon he even got the caravan started ten minutes ahead of schedule — and a Park Forest couple did not catch up until after it had left the Kaskaskia Island church.

Richard S. Hagen based his estimate that more than five hundred visited the Menard Home on Sunday on the fact that more than three hundred signed the guest book, that his supply of three hundred paper coffee cups was completely exhausted, and that all two hundred of his glass cups for "high tea" were washed at least twice. Many of the visitors, of course, partook of both "high tea" and "low coffee."

Even after the last bus had left, Hagen — with the help of Mrs. Edison Fiene — was still baking bread. It was after sundown before the last loaf came out of the Menard oven and the throng that had waited for it went home.

Prizes for Everybody on Student Historian Day

Governor William G. Stratton received his usual "award" — a copy of the year's eight issues of *Illinois History* magazine, bound in blue morocco leather and lettered in gold — and there were prizes for everybody, it seemed, on May 15 when the eleventh annual Student Historian Award Day ceremonies were held in the Illinois Building on the State Fairgrounds in Springfield.

Cash awards totaling $200 were shared by four students, and twenty-two others received a book; two teachers were presented $25 each, and nineteen were given a year's membership in the Illinois State Historical Society.

This Student Historian Award Day was the climax of the first year that *Illinois History* has been distributed free to schools for classroom use and to public libraries. Mrs. Phyllis Connolly, director of the Student Historian program and editor of the magazine, reported that its circulation increased by about 10,000 during the year to 13,500 monthly and that it is now being sent to 1,100 schools and 210 libraries throughout the state.

Governor Stratton inaugurated the program by presenting Student Historian of the Year certificates to twenty-six teen-age authors from twenty-one schools in seventeen communities — all of them in the northern half of the state. The awards were based on the excellence of articles published during the year in *Illinois History,* which is sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society.

The winners were selected by a panel of ten judges, not all of them historians but all interested in the Student Historian program. These judges were Dr. George W. Adams, chairman of the Department of History, Southern Illinois University; Mrs. Connolly; Joseph L. De La Cour, Representative, Eleventh District, Illinois General Assembly; Marvin H. Lyon, Jr., President of the Illinois State Historical Society; James E. Myers, Springfield businessman; Ernest E. Poe, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Wheaton; Miss B. J. Ross, Chicago television and radio writer and director; Mrs. LaVere H. Ross, teacher at Jefferson Junior High School, Aurora; Dr. Donald F. Tingley, associate professor of history, Eastern Illinois University; and Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historian.

Largest of the cash prizes, the $100 Harry E. Pratt Memorial Award for the best article published in the Abraham Lincoln (February) issue of *Illinois History,* went to George A. Finola, an eighth-grade student at Chicago's Harvard School for Boys. The title of his article, "God Never Made a Finer Man," was taken from a statement attributed

Governor William G. Stratton presents a Student Historian of the Year certificate to Joanne Smith of Washington School, Dixon. Later Joanne received the John H. Hauberg Memorial Award.

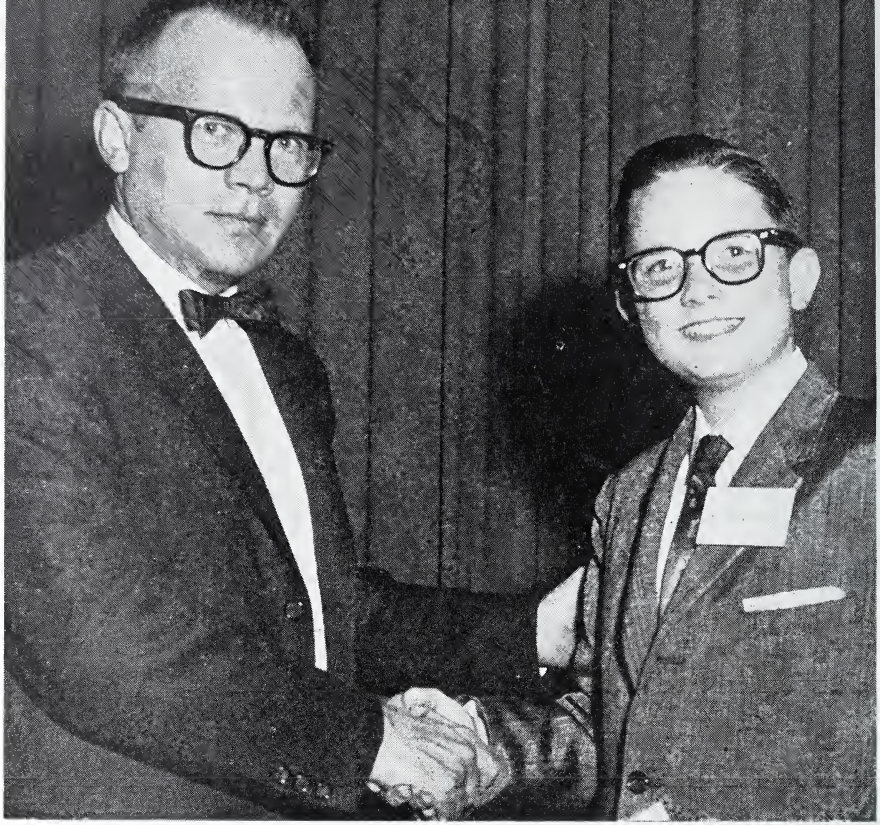
to George Close, a man who once split rails with Lincoln. The award was presented by Richard S. Hagen, secretary-treasurer of the Friends of the Lincoln Shrines, Inc., which sponsored the prize. Young Finola also received a Governor's achievement certificate last year.

A new cash prize this year was the King V. Hostick Award of $50 plus two large prints of Lincoln photographs owned by the donor, a Springfield and Chicago historical manuscripts dealer. Each year he will choose an issue of the magazine and give a prize for the best article in that issue. This year he selected the October, 1958 number, and the ten judges were unanimous in naming as the winner Helen Horney, a ninth-grade student at Lawrence Junior High School, Springfield. Her article was about Edwards Place, the historic home of Benjamin Edwards in Springfield.

Winner of the $25 John H. Hauberg Memorial Award was Joanne Smith, who is in the eighth grade at Washington School, Dixon. Although its cash value is not as high as the others, this award is probably the most difficult to win since it is given for the article of greatest general interest published during the year. Joanne's story of the Fort Dearborn Massacre, which appeared in the April issue, was chosen from a large number submitted on the same subject, according to Mrs. Connolly. The award is sponsored by the State Historical

State Historian Clyde C. Walton congratulates Andrea Simmons of Springfield High School for winning the Ralph E. Francis Award.

Miss Frances Chambers, right, a teacher at Coolidge Junior High School, Moline, accepts the Philip D. and Elsie O. Sang Award from Mrs. Phyllis Connolly, director of the Student Historian program.



Richard S. Hagen, secretary-treasurer of the Friends of the Lincoln Shrines, Inc., congratulates George A. Finola for winning the $100 Harry E. Pratt Memorial Award as the author of the best Lincoln article published in the February issue of Illinois History *magazine.*

Society and was presented by Ralph G. Newman, senior vice-president.

The fourth student award — $25 for the most original and/or best written article — was also presented for the first time this year. It was won by Andrea Simmons, a sophomore at Springfield High School. Her article, in the March issue, was a biographical sketch of a man who escaped from Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution. The sponsor of the award is Ralph E. Francis of Kankakee, a past president of the State Society, but in his absence the presentation was made by State Historian Walton.

The two $25 cash awards which went to teachers were the John H. Hauberg Memorial Award for the outstanding contribution to the Student Historian program during the year and the Sang Award for sustained support of the program over a period of time. Mrs. Mary Jo Ivens, who teaches at Washington Junior High School in Bloomington, received the Hauberg Award, sponsored by the Rotary Club of Rock Island and

Mrs. Mary Jo Ivens, a teacher at Washington Junior High School, Bloomington, reads the citation naming her the Illinois History Teacher of the Year. The certificate was presented by Walter E. McBride, a past president of the Rotary Club of Rock Island.

Helen Horney, a student at Lawrence Junior High School, Springfield, receives an award of $50 and two Lincoln photographs for the best article in the October issue of Illinois History. *The sponsor of the award, who made the presentation, is King V. Hostick, Chicago and Springfield historical manuscripts dealer.*

presented by Walter E. McBride, representing that club. Mrs. Ivens has taught at the Bloomington school for eleven years and has been the director of the student historian club there for the past four years.

The Sang Award, sponsored by Philip D. and Elsie O. Sang of River Forest, was another one presented this year for the first time. Its winner was Miss Frances Chambers, head of the social studies department of Calvin Coolidge Junior High School, Moline, who retired in June after forty-five years of teaching.

In addition to this award, the Sangs — he is a vice-president of the State Historical Society — gave a year's membership in the Society to all the teachers whose students received Governor Stratton's achievement certificates. These teachers were Mrs. Aline Bock, Gurnee Grade School; Miss Chambers; Carl DeVry, Central School, Ottawa; Mrs. Evelyn Dixon, Lawrence Junior High School, Springfield; Mrs. Muriel Eastham, Springfield High School; Miss Lucile Gray, Freeport Junior High School; Mrs. Beatrice Hall, Canton Junior High School; Mrs. Gazelle Hill and Carl Hunkins, Sterling High School; Mrs. Ivens; Mrs. Edna Jones, Polo Community High School; Mrs. Evelyn Kovar, Champaign Senior High School; LaRoy A. Morning, Abbott Junior High School, Elgin; Miss Maud Irene Nelson, Taft High School, Chicago; Lewis M. Robinson, Joliet Township High School; Mrs. LaVere H. Ross; Irvin F. Smith, Jefferson Junior High School, Springfield; Miss Ruth Stroud, University High School, Normal; Mrs. Romona Tharp, Lincoln Junior High School, Beardstown; Miss Hanna E. Welsh, Harvard School for Boys, Chicago; and the student historian club advisors at Washington School, Dixon.

In addition to the bound copy of *Illinois History* which was presented by Mrs. Connolly, Governor Stratton received a copy of the recently published *Mr. Lincoln*, written by the late J. G. Randall and edited by Richard N. Current. The book was presented by Vice-President Newman, who is proprietor of the Abraham Lincoln Bookshops in Chicago and at New Salem Park. Newman also gave copies of the book to all award-winning students who did not receive a cash prize. The students who received books were:

AURORA: Jeff Blake and Jinna Lee Norberg, West Side Public Schools.

BEARDSTOWN: Muriel Carls, Lincoln Junior High School.

BLOOMINGTON: Kara Lynne Knight, Mary O'Neil and Jane Wallace, Washington Junior High School.

CANTON: Marilyn Muir, Canton Junior High School.

CHAMPAIGN: Phyllis Bekemeyer, Champaign Senior High School.

CHICAGO: Robert Benziger and Lillian Stratton, Taft High School.

PHOTOS BY BILL CALVIN AND WARD JOHNSON, STATE PHOTOGRAPHERS

Ralph G. Newman, left, senior vice-president of the Historical Society, presents Governor Stratton a copy of the book Mr. Lincoln.

ELGIN: Mary Alice Ernst, Abbott Junior High School.

FREEPORT: Kathleen Hubbard, Freeport Junior High School.

GURNEE: Jerry Schmidt, Gurnee Grade School.

JOLIET: Janice Johnson, Joliet Township High School.

MOLINE: Ruth Ann Morisette, Calvin Coolidge Junior High School.

NORMAL: John L. Johnston, Jr., and Nancy Wilson, University High School.

OTTAWA: Nancy Rabenstein, Central School.

POLO: David Poole, Polo Community High School.

SPRINGFIELD: Karen Kanady, Jefferson Junior High School.

STERLING: Carole Benson and Perry Duis, Sterling High School.

In addition to George Finola, three of this year's award winners also won governor's certificates in 1958. They were Marilyn Muir of Canton, Jerry Schmidt of Gurnee and Carole Benson of Sterling. Carole was winner of the Pratt Award last year and of the Hauberg Award in 1957.

Lillian Stratton, one of the winners from Chicago, is not related to Governor Stratton. However, Karen Kanady from Springfield is the daughter of Johnson Kanady, an administrative assistant to the Governor.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

Since the Spring, 1959 issue of the Journal *was the Lincoln Sesquicentennial number and contained no "News and Comment" section, the notes below are for a period of about six months — which will make some of them practically "ancient history."*

This section has always been dependent for its material upon newspaper clippings, which have been most unsatisfactory and frequently inaccurate. In the absence of direct reports from the local societies, however, this practice must necessarily be continued for the present. Secretaries of local groups would perform a worthwhile service to the State Historical Society, to their own societies and to their sister societies if they were to send complete reports of their activities to the Journal.

The tenth anniversary of the Alton Area Historical Society was observed at the November, 1958 meeting, held at the Haskell House. Charles Van Ravenswaay, director of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, spoke on the importance of local history. Mrs. John F. Lemp read a history of the Alton society which had been compiled by Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, who with her husband founded the organization.

Maitland Timmermeier was elected president at the December meeting. Other new officers include Lester K. Meyer, vice-president; John F. Lemp, treasurer; Mrs. Maitland Timmermeier, secretary; and Miss Margaret Hall, librarian. The program that month was presented by John Gibbons, a student at St. Louis University, who discussed the history of St. Mary's Church, which celebrated its centennial in November, 1958.

Mr. and Mrs. Timmermeier were in charge of the Society's January meeting, at which they showed colored slides of the landmarks of Galena and reviewed the history of that Illinois town. In March, Mrs. John Lemp, Mrs. Harry Meyer and Miss Charlotte Stamper conducted a program devoted to various aspects of the life of Theodore Roosevelt.

Village manager Leonard Hanson discussed the work of local historical societies at the April meeting of the Historical Society of Arlington Heights, held in the home of Milton Daniels.

President of the Aurora Historical Society is L. Ralph Mead, who was re-elected for a three-year term at the Society's January meeting. Other incumbents, also re-elected, are Joseph J. Lies and Robert W. Barclay, vice-presidents; Bess M. Lockhart, secretary; and Norris Ulness, treasurer. The Society's board consists of the following members: Mrs. Harold

Atwood, Robert E. Brown, Robert Conkling, Vernon S. Derry, Mrs. W. J. Downs, Mrs. J. W. Eckert, Mrs. Ralph Erlanson, Stanley Hamper, C. O. Hendricksen, Mrs. Helen Manning Meiers, Mrs. A. F. Muschler, Mrs. Harold Newton, Paul E. Ochsenschlager, Mrs. K. I. Ochsenschlager, Eleanor Plain, Hugh Parker, George Simpson, James Simon, Harold Schuettner, Mr. and Mrs. Newell Tanner, Mrs. Blanche Watson, J. J. Winn and W. B. Lathrop.

The society's museum, visited by 6,000 people in 1958, is under the charge of Professor Clarence R. Smith, director, and Mrs. Alice Humiston Applegate, curator.

In honor of the sesquicentennial of his birth, Lincoln memorabilia are being featured this year in the museum exhibits of the Bureau County Historical Society. On display is a four-by-five-foot Lincoln campaign banner of blue silk, fringed with gold, which was presented to residents of Ohio Township for having the largest delegation at an 1860 Lincoln mass meeting in Princeton. The exhibits also include Lincoln mourner's badges, bronze plaques and memorial scrolls, and an original copy of the July 11, 1856 *Tiskilwa Independent,* which reported Lincoln's July 4 speech in Bryant's Woods at Princeton.

"Railroads of Champaign County" was the topic of a panel discussion at the May meeting of the Champaign County Historical Society. Panel members included Dr. Robert M. Sutton, C. C. Burford and M. C. Moore. Director Elaine Bluhm of the Illinois Archaeological Survey talked on Indians of the county at the March meeting, and in January the agricultural history of the county was the subject of the program. The speaker, Mrs. Edith Sweney, is the granddaughter of an officer in the first local Grange organization. That organization became so strong, Mrs. Sweney said, that the McCormick Reaper Company gave special concessions to Grange members, and Montgomery Ward and Company was founded to do business with them. At the November, 1958 meeting Miss Natalia Belting, assistant professor of history at the University of Illinois and one of the Society's directors, described the history and growth of Illinois in relationship to the rest of the Northwest Territory.

In addition to Miss Belting, the Society's directors include Karl E. Lohmann, president; Olin L. Browder, vice-president; Mrs. Walter L. Shively, secretary; Chancy Finfrock, Jr., treasurer; and P. L. Windsor, Nathan Rice, Chancy Finfrock, Sr., and Marion C. Moore.

The 140th anniversary of Illinois statehood was observed at a special program of the Chicago

Historical Society in November. Exhibits arranged for the occasion included the table on which the first state constitution was signed, August 26, 1818.

Among other items on exhibit at the Society's museum is the 1866 Winchester carbine once owned by the famous Sioux chief Sitting Bull. It was presented by Sitting Bull to Dr. Nicholas J. Senn, who attended the Indian in the last years of his life; and Dr. Senn's son, Dr. E. J. Senn of Chicago gave the gun to the Society.

In February the Society obtained final legal release for the first known painting of Abraham Lincoln. The release concluded a legal battle over the will of the donor, the late Cuban Ambassador Oscar B. Cintas. The portrait, painted by Thomas Hicks in Springfield in June of 1860, was commissioned at the time of Lincoln's campaign for the presidency.

The 1959 "harvest dinner" of the Du Page County Historical Society was a testimonial to Judge Win G. Knoch, lifelong resident of Naperville and an original life member of the Society, who was appointed to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago last summer, capping a distinguished career as county, circuit and U. S. district judge. Guest speaker at the banquet, held at Woodridge Country Club, November 7, was Winnetka attorney Dwight P. Green, Sr., who talked on "Currier and Ives and Mississippi River Steamboats."

Abraham Lincoln's Vandalia years was the topic of Joseph C. Burtschi's address to the Effingham Regional Historical Society in March. Burtschi, who was the first president of the Vandalia Historical Society, has also been active in the State Society. His daughter, Miss Josephine Burtschi, presented a sketch of the Vandalia organization and discussed the operation of a local society. At the same meeting, Mrs. Hilda Feldhake gave an account of her experiences while writing *St. Anthony's Century, 1858-1958.*

Plans are underway for the Evanston Historical Society to operate the General Charles Gates Dawes mansion, 225 Greenwood Street, Evanston, as a museum and a center for patriotic groups. The French Gothic-style mansion, built at the turn of the century, was deeded by the General and his wife to Northwestern University in 1942, and the University took possession of the home in 1957 upon the death of Mrs. Dawes. Dawes, Vice-President of the United States under Calvin Coolidge, died in 1951. The home will be used as a meeting-place for patriotic groups and as headquarters for the Society, and will also provide display space for the

Dawes Northwest Territory collection and for relics and mementos associated with the General's life.

Robert Cromie, Chicago newspaperman whose recent book on the Great Chicago Fire has received widespread critical acclaim, was the principal speaker at the January meeting of the Historical Society of the Fort Hill Country, Waukegan.

Two almost forgotten businesses — ice-cutting and storage, and the livery business — were described to members of the Geneva Historical Society at their March meeting. Nels A. Pierson, who ran a successful ice concern in Geneva, cutting his ice from Fox River. "then a fine, clean stream," was the subject of a report prepared by Edwin Soderstrom and Margaret Allan. Jeanita Peterson, whose father operated a livery stable on Third Street, talked on "Horse and Buggy Days."

The struggle for existence of a small historical society is more than an abstract problem to members of the Greene County Historical Society, who met in April and again on May 22 to discuss maintenance of the Society's museum and the possible disbandment of the organization. Society headquarters has been maintained in a room in the old hotel at the southwest corner of the square in Carrollton.

Guest speaker at the March meeting was Richard B. Best, owner and manager of the Columbiana Seed Corn Company of Eldred, and in February the group was addressed by Society Vice-President Don G. Evans of White Hall, who gave a history of an early Greene County family, the Frys, of which he is a descendant.

An old-fashioned "covered dish" supper, attended by guests in costumes of years past, was given by the Jefferson County Historical Society at the Mt. Vernon Junior High School on April 3. Dr. George W. Adams, head of the history department at Southern Illinois University, talked to the group on the importance of preserving local history and traditions. Mrs. J. L. Buford reported the progress of the Society's museum committee in arranging a place for the preservation and display of memorabilia.

At the December meeting the following officers were elected: J. L. Buford, president; George N. Webb, vice-president; Elizabeth Kell, secretary; and Charles E. Simmons, executive board member. The December speaker was Orian Metcalf, news editor of the *Mt. Vernon Register-News,* who read a paper on the history of county newspapers.

Officers of the Jersey County Historical Society presented the program at the November 6 meet-

ing of the Jerseyville Woman's Club. Discussing the work of the Society and giving brief historical sketches of the county and of Jerseyville were Paul Fleming, president; Cora Lofton, treasurer; J. R. Fulkerson, director; Miss Celia Sinclair, secretary; and Arch D. Nelson, past president.

The Kankakee County Historical Society was commended as one of the outstanding local groups in the state by State Historian Clyde C. Walton, who addressed the Society in November on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of its reorganization and of the dedication of its historical museum. Also participating in the program were Ralph E. Francis, former president of both the State and Kankakee County societies; Mrs. Thomas Baird, retiring president of the Kankakee group; Harold Simmons and Mrs. Fannie Still.

Officers elected at that meeting include Vernon McBroom, president; Len H. Small, first vice-president; Harold Simmons, second vice-president; Clermont De Selm, third vice-president; Mrs. Still, secretary; Gilbert Hertz, treasurer. Directors named were L. O. Minor, W. A. Schneider, W. C. Schneider, Herman Snow, Ralph E. Francis, Mrs. Harry Yeates, Mrs. Richard Ferris, Mrs. Anker Jensen, Dr. Willis Snowbarger, G. E. Anderson, B. V. Hemstreet, Donald Radeke, Burrell Small, Henry Brandt, I. W. Parrish, Jr., Orville Warren, Vernon Butz and Mrs. Thomas Baird.

Area directors are Eugene Smith of Manteno, Lester Day of Aroma Park, Lessly Fieleke of Momence, Roy Wilcox of Herscher, George Lane of Chebanse, Ted Raab of Reddick, Mrs. Francis Taylor of Bonfield, J. Earl Johnson of Bradley, Percy Loiselle of Bourbonnais, Mrs. R. L. Benjamin of St. Anne and Guy Warren of Essex.

At special ceremonies in March, representatives of the Kankakee American Legion Auxiliary presented a state flag to the Historical Museum in Governor Small Memorial Park. Attending the ceremonies was the Cub Scout responsible for the acquisition. He is Thomas Phipps, nine-year-old son of Mr. and Mrs. Ogden Phipps, Manteno. Unable to find a state flag at his school, he later looked for one in the museum, and when he could not find one there, he asked Mrs. Still, museum curator, about it. Mrs. Still realized then that the museum should have a state flag, and at her instigation, the Legion Auxiliary's Americanism committee, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Wilbert Wegner, agreed to the flag presentation.

Subjects ranging from architecture to religion have been discussed at the six winter and spring meetings of the Land o' Goshen Historical Society, Edwardsville. In November, Edwardsville archi-

tect Edward A. Kane traced the development of local architectural styles and cited present-day examples of each. Three particularly interesting structures, he said, are the old windmill at the Gaius Paddock residence, the Hooper Warren print shop and the old Wabash Hotel, all of which were described, measured and sketched for permanent record during the historic buildings survey of the Public Works Administration.

Mrs. Eugene Schmidt, president, recounted the early religious history of the Edwardsville area at the December meeting, held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. B. J. Isselhardt. Mrs. Ann Funke was hostess for the January meeting, at which Miss Esther Funke and Bob Lange showed slides of former Society programs and of historical sites throughout the United States. In February, Society members discussed plans for marking historical sites and preserving community landmarks. The program was presented by Miss Jessie Springer, who spoke on the subject "Early Music in Edwardsville." The meeting was held at the Norman Flagg residence on Springfield Road.

Miss Ella Tunnell entertained the Society in March. Principal speaker for that program was Mrs. Gladys B. Bartholomew, whose subject was the selection of names for Edwardsville streets. History of the city's fraternal organizations was discussed by Lesley Marks at the April meeting, held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Abenbrink.

A nominating committee, composed of Mrs. Elmer Jahns, Mrs. Edward Abenbrink and Miss Ella Tunnell, recommended the following for officers of the Society, 1959-1960: Mrs. Louise Ahrens, president; Miss Lena Graham, vice-president; Mrs. Gladys Bartholomew, secretary-treasurer; Robert C. Lange, program chairman.

The Lincoln Sesquicentennial was observed by the La Salle County Historical Society at a special dinner at the Hotel Kaskaskia on February 15. Speaker for the event was C. C. Burford of Urbana, who talked on "Lincoln's Estate and Its Administration." President C. C. Tisler presided at a brief business meeting, at which members adopted a resolution recommending that the state erect a memorial museum in Starved Rock State Park.

The Withers Library of Bloomington noted the opening of its new Illinois Historical Room last fall with a series of lectures sponsored jointly by the Library and the adult education program. First speaker was Mrs. Ethel Sinclair, *Pantagraph* librarian, whose subject was "From Wampum Belt to Corn Belt." Later speakers in the series included State Historian Clyde C. Walton and James T.

Hickey, Curator of the Lincoln Room at the State Historical Library.

Treasured Lincoln relics of the Madison County Historical Society and its members were on display throughout February in the Society's museum in the courthouse at Edwardsville. Exhibits included a replica of a log cabin similar to that in which Lincoln was born, and a high silk hat of the Lincoln era, both loaned by Mrs. Howard Trovillion of Alton; a grubbing hoe which is said to have belonged to Lincoln, presented to the Society by the late Miss Augusta Isensee of Edwardsville; a boot jack said to have been Lincoln's and loaned by Mrs. Arch Waltrip of Alton; contemporary photographs and cartoons, presented to the Society by the late Norman Flagg and the late Mr. and Mrs. Henry Klein; and recent color photographs of Lincoln shrines, loaned by Kenneth Johnson of Edwardsville.

As a lasting tribute to Lincoln, the Marshall County Historical Society has voted to observe the sesquicentennial year by purchasing a selection of books on the Emancipator for Marshall County school libraries. Lincoln was also the subject of the Society's annual banquet in January, which marked the third anniversary of the organization and the 120th anniversary of Marshall County.

E. B. "Pete" Long, a member of the Illinois Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, was guest speaker at the banquet.

Following Long's address, retiring president Roscoe Ball reviewed the Society's 1958 activities, and Miss Eleanor Bussell then introduced officers for 1959. They are Ray Litchfield, Toluca, president; Mrs. Blake Grieves, Lacon, senior vice-president; Mrs. Orlo King, Varna, second vice-president; John Boose, Henry, third vice-president; Wayne Buck, Washburn, treasurer. Miss Bussell, whose home is at Sparland, is secretary.

Under the Society's revised by-laws, each township in the county must be represented by at least one member on the 24-man board of directors. As a result, the nomination of eleven new directors was announced at the January meeting. They are, by township, Wayne Ehringer, C. Leland Monier and Louis A. Lenz, all of Lacon; Carl Junker and Mrs. Dorothy King of Roberts; F. L. Skelton of Bennington; Mrs. Mina Swanson and Mrs. Hattie Smith of Evans; Miss Lois Leigh of La Prairie; Frank Clift of Whitefield; and Miss Eleanor Bussell of Steuben.

Miss Bussell was one of the two speakers at the November, 1958 meeting. She read excerpts from the autobiography of Thomas Marshall, an Irish pioneer in the county; and the other speaker,

Val Wenk, a past president of the Society, reviewed the book *Lacon* by the Rev. Charles Caleb Colton, which was published in England in the 1820's. The town Lacon, originally Columbia, was named for the book, Mr. Wenk said.

At the March, 1959 meeting of the Society, Princeton photographer Art Stickel gave an illustrated lecture on Civil War battlefields.

Delbert Devol of Fort Madison, Iowa, a well-known clock collector, was the principal speaker at the February meeting of the Nauvoo Historical Society. He exhibited some of the clocks from his extensive collection, and his wife also showed her collection of small gilded French clocks. At the business meeting all of the Society's incumbent officers were re-elected. They are Mrs. Edna Griffith, president; Paxon J. Lewis, vice-president; Raymond Replinger, second vice-president; Miss Alberta Balmer, secretary; K. J. Reinhardt, treasurer; Mrs. Ida Blum, librarian and corresponding secretary; Preston W. Kimball, auditor; Sister M. Constance, historiographer; Mrs. William Ortman, publicity chairman; E. J. Diener, board member at the Reception Center.

Lynda Hoch of Forreston took first place in the contest to design a seal for the Ogle County Historical Society. Winners were announced at the November, 1958 meeting of the Society in Rochelle; in addition to Miss Hoch, they were George Dicus, Rochelle, second, and Dale Roop, Rochelle, third. The winner received the David Beverly Haselton award of $50, presented by C. Merle Haselton of Rochelle, who gave the prize in honor of his grandfather, an Ogle County settler of 1826. At the same meeting Mrs. John Barrett of Freeport discussed the acquisition of a Society museum. Officers elected for 1959 are Everett Webster, Polo, president; C. Merle Haselton, Rochelle, vice-president; Mrs. Virgil Goodrich, Mount Morris, corresponding secretary; and the following directors: Mrs. Wilbur Leight of Leaf River, Mrs. Pearl Jones of Polo, Mrs. C. A. McAffee of Byron, Mrs. Blanche Myers of Mount Morris, Armour Van Breisen of Stillman Valley and Mrs. Walter Hinckle of Oregon.

At the February meeting of the Society, held in Byron, Clarence Parks of Polo showed pictures of old mill sites in the county.

The silver anniversary of the Peoria County Historical Society was observed in January. Charter members attending the anniversary meeting included G. R. Barnett, Raymond N. Brons, Margaret McIlvaine, Emma E. Shriner, Harry L. Spooner, Virginius H. Chase, Dr. P. B. Goodwin and Howard A. Hunter.

Reminiscences of the first Society meeting on January 18, 1934, were given by present president Gerald T. Kelsch. The principal speaker then, he said, was Illinois State Historian Paul M. Angle, now director of the Chicago Historical Society. At the formal organization meeting, held a few weeks later, the first slate of officers was elected. They included Percival G. Rennick, president; Dr. George A. Zeller and Dr. Milo T. Easton, vice-presidents; Ernest E. East, secretary; Henry H. Grimes, Marilee Barger, Dallas Sweney, Naomi Lagron, Y. A. Heghin and Electa Spangler, directors. Dr. Dan Morse, director of the Peoria Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, also spoke at the anniversary meeting, describing old medical instruments and devices.

The November meeting of the Society featured a talk on Governor Thomas Ford by Walter Durley Boyle of Hennepin, state's attorney of Putnam County. In December, Philip Becker of the Bradley University staff talked on the Bradley School of Horology, and three speakers — Mrs. Walter Marsh, Miss Leila Evans and Miss Luella P. Harlan — presented biographical sketches of members of the Tripp, Evans and Harlan families, all early settlers in the county. Civil War battlefield photographs taken by the late Dr. John Voss of Manual Training High School, Peoria, were shown at the February meeting of the Society. The Civil War also provided the theme for the March meeting; Raymond N. Brons read Mary Raymond Shipman Andrews' story about Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, "The Perfect Tribute"; and Haskell Armstrong related incidents taken from the Civil War prison diary and company books of Lieutenant Edmund E. Ryan, a Peorian who served in many of the war's important campaigns before being captured at Meridian, Mississippi, in 1864.

In April, Miss Eleanor Bussell of the Marshall County Historical Society and a member of the Illinois Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, spoke to the Society on the subject of Lincoln authors; and Clarence L. Johnson, secretary of the Peoria Society, presented a paper entitled "Harrodsburg to the Mississippi."

Wayne Townley of Bloomington was the principal speaker at the annual dinner in May.

Plans to preserve reminiscences of Perry County residents on tape have been inaugurated by the Perry County Historical Society. At the January meeting of the Society, Mrs. Noel Cooke of Pinckneyville played tape-recorded interviews with Mrs. W. O. Edwards and William Duckworth, both now dead. Mrs. Edwards recounted events of her student days at the Du Quoin Female Seminary in 1885 and 1886, and Duckworth

told of his experiences as an employee of the railroads of southern Illinois.

Charles Matthews of Pinckneyville was elected president of the organization at the December, 1958 meeting. Other new officers are Albert Teabeau, Du Quoin, vice-president; Mrs. Ethel Sanford, Du Quoin, treasurer; Pona Eaton, Pinckneyville, secretary; George Ulrich and James Kimzey of Pinckneyville and Roger W. Eaton of Du Quoin, directors. Mr. and Mrs. Eaton gave an illustrated talk on recent archaeological findings in Perry County and other parts of southern Illinois.

The November program was presented by Miss Jacqueline Beck, Du Quoin musician, who spoke on the origin of music and musical instruments.

Mrs. Willard J. Spurgeon, president of the Randolph County Historical Society, presided as "schoolmistress" over an old-fashioned "school days" program in November, 1958. The program included a spelling bee, a contest in sums, the recitation of "pieces" and a real "jam session" — with donations of homemade jam that were placed on sale. Old-fashioned cooking also was the theme of the Society's January meeting. Members discussed early French menus and exchanged recipes, the most special one being that of Mrs. Louis Brands, Prairie du Rocher, for thin French pancakes. The recipe is one handed down in the Melliere family, who were early French settlers.

Mr. and Mrs. William Farley of Harrisburg showed movies of scenic and historic spots in southern Illinois at the February meeting of the Society. In March, Dr. Raymond H. Groff of Chester, psychoanalyst at the Menard State Prison and a member of the Randolph County Society, was in charge of the program.

Bestor F. Witter of Rock Island was re-elected president of the Rock Island County Historical Society on April 22. Other officers are Carl A. Waldmann, Rock Island, first vice-president; G. Hollister Boardman, Cordova, second vice-president; Mrs. James R. Burke, Rock Island, secretary; F. E. Mueller, Port Byron, treasurer; and Miss Helen Marshall, Rock Island, archivist. Incumbent directors and members of the advisory board were re-elected, and one new member, Miss Elsie Engle, Moline, was elected to fill a vacancy on the board of directors.

Officers of the recently organized Mercer County Historical Society were guests at the meeting, at which Richard S. Hagen, historical consultant for the Illinois Department of Conservation, gave an illustrated talk on the restoration of New Salem and the Lincoln and Grant homes.

Heading the Rockton Township Historical Society in 1959 is Frank Truman, chosen president at the Society's January meeting. Other officers are Mrs. William Bigelow, vice-president; Mrs. William White, secretary; Mrs. Frank Olsen, treasurer; and the following directors: Mrs. Harry Graham, Mrs. William Zinnecker, Mrs. Frank Truman, Armour Titus and Don Frutiger.

Discovery of eleven iron salt kettles imbedded in the Saline River since the early nineteenth century was reported at the December, 1958 meeting of the Saline County Historical Society, held at Harrisburg. The discovery was made by Don Thompson and John E. Murphy, two of six panel members who discussed the old saltworks at Equality. The other participants were George and Charles H. Guard, Elvis Spencer and George McLain.

Elder T. Leo Dodd conducted a service dedicated to the memory of Mrs. Amelia Aaron, who died July 8, 1958.

William H. Farley, past president of the Society, presented the January program, and in February Miss Edna Burnett reviewed Baker Brownell's *The Other Illinois.* Music for the February meeting was provided by Mrs. George Skelton, vocal soloist, and her son Harold, accompanist. Miss Grace Collier talked on "The Wild Flowers of Southern Illinois" at the March meeting. She was assisted by Miss Mary White and Mrs. Byford Summers. John Brown, director of the Eldorado Art Center, presented the musical portion of the program.

Officers of the Society for 1959 are headed by Louis E. Aaron of Harrisburg, re-elected to his sixth term as president in January. Others include Mrs. Paul Hatfield of Harrisburg, first vice-president; Don Scott of Harrisburg, second vice-president; James Bond of Galatia, secretary-treasurer; and the following committee chairmen appointed by the president: Mrs. Don Scott, Mrs. Ray Altmire and Mrs. Clarence Bosket, all of Harrisburg.

Mrs. Alex Mitchell, Freeport artist, was guest of honor at an open house given by the Stephenson County Historical Society on January 16. An exhibit of Mrs. Mitchell's work was displayed for the Society's guests.

Four Illinois student historians from Sterling were honored at the April meeting of the recently organized Sterling-Rock Falls Historical Society. They were Gay Elfine, Kenneth Rick, Perry Duis, and Carole Benson. The last three named have recently had articles published in *Illinois History,* the State Historical Society's magazine for young people.

A constitution and bylaws for the Society were submitted to the

membership by Richard Metcalfe and Neil Lathrop. After the business meeting the following members spoke briefly about objects of historical interest they had brought for display: Harry McCaslin, Earl Ellmaker, Dr. McCombs, Bill U'Ren, Madeleine Nuttall and Gunnar Benson. Also participating was John Honens.

Concerts, scholarships and festivals — in addition to the more traditional historical programs — have occupied the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford this year. At the March meeting, members voted to present a $100 scholarship to any Rockford student accompanying the Augustana College group which is visiting Sweden this summer to participate in a workshop in the Swedish language.

Candidates for summer festival queen were presented at the Society's March 9 meeting. Dr. O. Fritiof Ander, professor of history at Augustana College, Rock Island, was the principal speaker, discussing the influences which have Americanized Sweden.

Officers for 1959, elected at the meeting, include David W. Johnson, president; Axel Rehnberg, Arthur Alfredson, Martin R. Wall, Axel Ney, Mrs. Alida Carlson, Carl P. Sandstrom, and Hilmer S. Borggren, all vice-presidents; Herman G. Nelson, secretary; Arvid V. Peterson, treasurer; Thorsten Thorstenson, radio committee chairman. Also serving on the radio committee are Hilmer Borggren, Margaret Swanson, Blanche Alden, Alf O. Ahlstrand, William Hamaker, Otto Axelson and Paul Forsgren.

Directors are Clifford P. and Ernest A. Carlson, T. G. Lindquist, Carl Severin, Margaret Swanson, John P. Nelson, Nils F. Testor, Hugo W. Linden, Simon Lindstrom, Carl Linde, Eric Johnson, Arthur Alfredson, Adolph G. Miller and N. Frank Nelson.

In April the Society sponsored a concert by the Testor chorus, presented in the Jefferson Junior High School.

The Society's midsummer festival, scheduled for June 21 in Mississippi Park, was under the chairmanship of Hilmer Borggren.

Programs for 1959 meetings of the Wayne County Historical Society have been devoted to the early government of Fairfield, pioneer carpentry and architecture in the county and an account of daily life in 1865. The first subject was presented by John Tickner, Fairfield city collector, who spoke at the January meeting. In March, Ira and Arthur Jett, of the Jett Brothers Construction Company, Fairfield, presented the Society with carpenter tools used by Ellis Branson, their great-grandfather and founder of their company. Kenneth Hammack gave an illustrated talk on old

buildings in the county at the same meeting.

The talk on life in 1865 was given at the April meeting by Mrs. Charles Thacker, who based her account on the diary of the Rev. R. H. Massey, one-time pastor of the Fairfield Methodist Church.

A pioneer dinner featuring venison stew was given by the White County Historical Society in Carmi on January 26. John W. Allen, guest speaker, regaled his audience with tales of early settlers in White, Hardin, Wabash, Wayne and Gallatin counties.

Ford and Douglas Counties Reach Century Mark

All of Illinois' 102 counties are now hoary-headed centenarians. The Twenty-first General Assembly, meeting in 1859, created the last two: Douglas County was formed on February 8, by dividing Coles; and Ford County, on February 17, by giving a separate government to territory theretofore attached to Vermilion. Ford County held its centennial celebration from June 14 to 20.

Plans for Shawneetown Sesquicentennial

The Shawneetown Chamber of Commerce has already begun preparations for the town's sesquicentennial in 1960. The celebration, planned for July, will include pageants, Ohio River excursions and other attractions. Both Old and New Shawneetown will participate.

Shawneetown was founded on the site of an old Shawnee Indian village, whence its name. Its strategic location on the routes used by westbound immigrants gave it a certain prominence in its first decades. It was the first convenient landing place below the mouth of the Wabash for those coming down the Ohio River, and it offered a crossing place for those coming overland from Kentucky. It had the first bank in Illinois Territory and the second newspaper (the first was published at Kaskaskia). It was the only town to share with Kaskaskia the honor of a visit from General Lafayette in 1825.

But changes in the growth pattern of the state left Shawneetown in the backwater, and recurrent floods on the Ohio River helped make life there precarious. After the great flood of 1937 many of the residents moved to higher ground three miles west, but the old town has not been completely abandoned. The boundaries of present Shawneetown include a narrow strip of land connecting the old and new towns, which have a common municipal government.

Some of the sturdier buildings in Old Shawneetown, including the second bank building (1839),

remained after having withstood all the water that the Beautiful River (as the French called the Ohio) could hurl at them. The State Division of Parks and Memorials has restored the exterior of the bank building. The old Posey Building, where such famous Illinoisans as John A. Logan, John A. McClernand and Robert G. Ingersoll once had offices, has been torn down — only the stone steps remain. The John Marshall house, built in the very early 1800's, is still standing. The levees have been raised and strengthened, and a bridge has replaced the ferry that served for more than a hundred years. The recently organized Shawnee Hills Recreation Association and the historical societies of nearby counties hope to make Old Shawneetown a tourist center.

First County Civil War Centennial Commission

Rock Island County is the first in Illinois to have begun preparations for observing the forthcoming centennial of the Civil War. A Rock Island County Civil War Centennial Commission has been formed with Morris S. Colehour as president, E. Lee Siemon, executive secretary and John H. Shantz, chairman of the research committee.

The Commission has enlisted the co-operation of the Quad-City Civil War Round Table, of which Andre La Croix of East Moline is president. As early as last November members of his group began a series of visits to nearby townships to secure local help in tracing Rock Island County's Union soldiers. Civil War diaries, photographs and relics of all sorts are being collected.

The Rock Island Commission also is co-operating with the United States Civil War Centennial Commission and its president, General Ulysses S. Grant III.

Douglas' Union Speech Commemorated

For more than a quarter of a century before the firing on Fort Sumter, Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln had been political opponents. Yet, when war broke out, Douglas pledged his full support to Lincoln, and at a conference between the two Illinoisans in the White House on April 15, 1861, Lincoln asked Douglas to go back to Illinois and help make the state a unit in support of the war. In response to this plea, Douglas delivered his great "Protect the Flag" speech on April 25 before the Illinois legislature in joint session in the old Statehouse (now the Sangamon County courthouse).

Ceremonies commemorating the

ninety-eighth anniversary of this event were held in the room where the speech was delivered — the old Hall of Representatives — on Monday, April 27, 1959. On this occasion Speaker Paul Powell of the Illinois House of Representatives said,

> The results of this great speech were immediate and enduring — Douglas roused his countrymen as one man to the defense of their flag and the preservation of the Union of the United States, and caused the enlistment of 500,000 volunteers in the Union Army. The "Protect the Flag" speech is a great historic speech that materially affected the history of our country. Independence Hall in Philadelphia is the symbol of the creation of American independence, and this old capitol, through its association with Lincoln, Douglas and Grant, is the great symbol of the preservation of American national unity, and has well earned its reputation as the second or third most historic building in America.

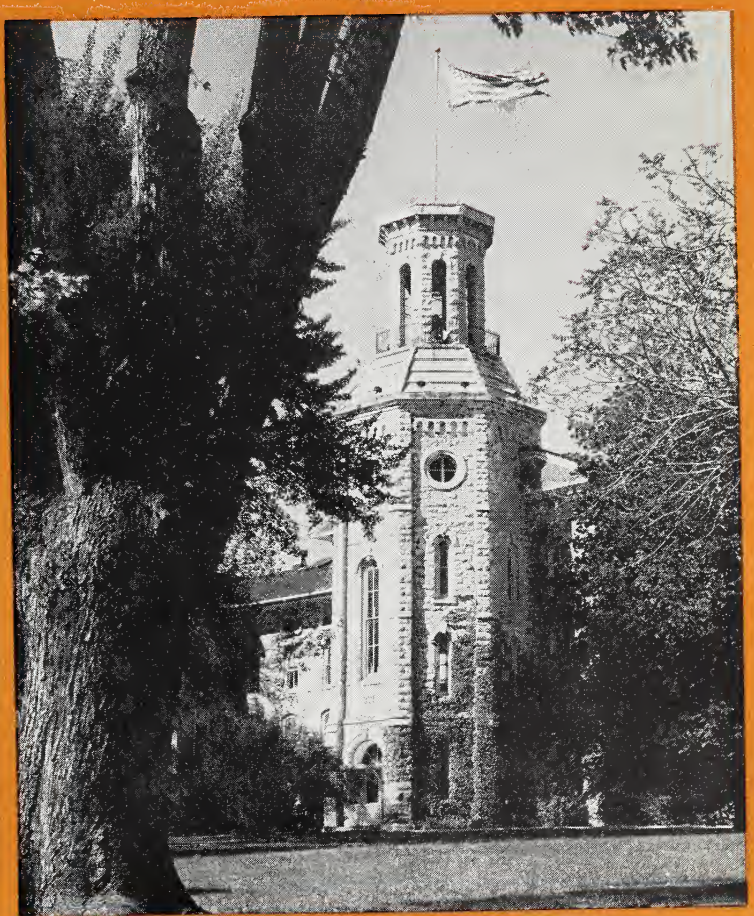
Douglas died on June 3, 1861, less than six weeks after making this speech. At the commemorative ceremonies a portrait of Douglas, painted some eighty years ago, was presented to the Springfield Historical Monuments Commission by Attorney Walter T. Day.

AUTUMN 1959

JOURNAL

THE

LINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY



WHEATON'S SYMBOL (*See page 461*)

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FRED R. MARCKHOFF

Currency and Banking In Illinois Before 1865

Fred R. Marckhoff of Elgin is well known to the nation's coin collectors through his articles on early state currencies and his active membership in the American Numismatic Association since 1937. He has contributed to the Numismatist, *the* Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine *and* Coin Collector's Journal. *His interest in research and collecting, the author says, is secondary only to his full-time career as a United States Civil Service employee in Chicago. Formerly with the Federal Reserve Bank there, he now works for the Treasury Department.*

THE AREA known as Illinois was, in 1816, largely unbroken wilderness from Indiana to Iowa and from Wisconsin to the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. The only white settlements extended a little north of Edwardsville and Alton, south along the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio, east from Edwardsville to the Wabash River and down the Wabash and Ohio to the mouth of the latter. These settlements consisted of a few farms and very tiny villages along the banks of the great rivers that bounded the area. Only Kaskaskia, the capital, and Shawneetown, the "port of entry," were of significant size.

The daily needs for money were slight. Each family was

Note — This article is based on the following general sources:

Alfred T. Andreas, *History of Chicago from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (3 vols., Chicago, 1884).
R. Edward Davis, *Early Illinois Paper Money* (Chicago, n.d.).
Davis R. Dewey, *State Banking before the Civil War* (Washington, D.C., 1910).
George W. Dowrie, *The Development of Banking in Illinois, 1817-1863*

practically sufficient unto itself when it came to providing the everyday necessities of food and raw material for clothing. Log cabins, furniture and even wagons were handmade. Most families lived an entire year without either use for, or possession of, fifty dollars in cash. Not until the first settlements became large enough to support a local miller was a common medium of exchange needed.

Into an environment such as this came the first banking in Illinois. On December 28, 1816 the territorial legislature passed an act incorporating the "President, Directors and Company of the Bank of Illinois" at Shawneetown. At that time there was little need, or commercial demand, for a bank in Illinois, and it was obvious almost from the beginning that the bank's purposes and operations were very different from those of the modern bank.

The founders of the bank — John Marshall, Leonard

(*University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences,* Vol. 2, No. 4, Urbana, 1913).
Charles H. Garnett, *State Banks of Issue in Illinois* (Urbana, 1898).
Alonzo B. Hepburn, *History of Coinage and Currency in the United States and the Perennial Contest for Sound Money* (New York, 1903).
Henry H. Hurlbut, *Chicago Antiquities . . .* (Chicago, 1881).
F. Cyril James, *The Growth of Chicago Banks* (2 vols., New York, 1938).
John Jay Knox, *A History of Banking in the United States* (New York, 1900).
William Graham Sumner, *A History of Banking in the United States* (Vol. I of *A History of Banking in All the Leading Nations . . .*, edited and published by the *Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin,* 4 vols., New York, 1896).
Thompson's Bank Note and Commercial Reporter (now *American Banker*).

Technical terms used in the historical sketch and accompanying list are briefly defined below:

Advertising note, an unusual type of paper currency that was not intended to circulate as money, although the "advertisement" was printed in the form of a bank note. As a matter of fact, many were redeemable at face value in merchandise at the store named on the note, and others were also accepted at face value at nearby stores. Even though their circulation was limited, each note bore a denomination that might or might not be honored by one or more stores.

Bank note, any paper currency issued by a bank, state or private.

Certificate of deposit, a type of paper currency issued by early insurance

White, Samuel and John Caldwell, Michael Jones and John McLean – were impressed with the possibility of making large profits through the sale of vast tracts of land to immigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee and the eastern states. But without sufficient capital of their own, their only chance was to operate as a chartered banking institution, with the corporate privilege of selling stock to the public and the power of issuing paper currency in the name of the bank. They hoped thereby to raise the necessary capital for their operations.

The incorporating act fixed capital stock at $300,000, divided into $100 shares, with one-third of the total withheld from public offering in case the legislature should desire, or could be influenced, to acquire such stock at some future time. Stock subscribers were required to pay $10 per share in gold or silver coin at the time of subscription and the balance in current paper money when so requested by the directors. Another, even more lenient, provision

firms. This paper was first used only for insurance premium payments but, despite its illegal status as currency in the state, was soon adopted for general use, especially in the Chicago area.

Plate letters, letters of the alphabet which appear on the face of notes were used by engravers for identification. The first engraver's plate for a single note usually bore the letter "A," the second "B" and so on. Four notes were printed at one time and were most often of one denomination; but see the listing of the Dixon Hotel Company for variations of this practice.

Post note, a kind of currency redeemable at some future specified date. They bore such inscriptions as "payable six months from date of issue," and were usually issued by a firm with insufficient capital to redeem its own money but with the expectation of being able to do so by the redemption date. It took considerable faith on the part of the public to accept this kind of money, and it had almost completely disappeared from circulation by 1850.

Scrip, paper money other than bank notes. It was issued by merchants, city or county governments, or even by individuals, for the operation of daily business.

Sutler's notes or scrip, paper money issued by the sutler, or provisioner, of an army camp. Its use was confined almost wholly to military personnel for whose benefit the sutler operated. The printed scrip usually named the military unit to which the sutler was attached.

allowed the bank to open whenever $50,000 had been subscribed toward the capital and $10,000 of that amount paid in. Corporation life was fixed at twenty years. The bank's actual function was revealed in a provision allowing it to acquire property up to $500,000 if such property had been mortgaged to it as security or transferred to it by debtors who had previously received loans. Besides making loans, this politically sponsored bank was allowed to trade in bills of exchange as well as in gold and silver.

The minimum $10,000 capital was soon paid in, the twelve directors were elected by the stockholders, and the bank opened for business, January 1, 1817.

The best possible description of this and other banks of the period is found in a report of the United States Secretary of the Treasury, dated February 24, 1820. It stated that banks were organized

> not because there was capital seeking investment, not because the places where they were established had commerce and manufacturers which required their fostering aid, but because men without active capital wanted the means of obtaining loans, which their standing in the community would not command from banks or individuals having real capital and established credit.[1]

This first bank in Illinois took advantage of its note-issuing privilege to provide the state with its first bank notes. With hard coin almost totally absent, it is reasonable to believe that there was some need for a medium of exchange, but, of course, a large, unsupported issue of bank notes was hardly the ideal medium. An apt appraisal current at that time was that the chief function of a western bank was to manufacture and issue paper money on easy terms to the ambitious and gullible inhabitants.[2]

1. Cited in Dewey, *State Banking before the Civil War,* 7.
2. Dowrie, *Development of Banking in Illinois,* 8.

Legislators themselves furthered overproduction of the new bank notes (which replaced, rather than supplemented, par valued coins) by enacting a measure providing that levies upon property of delinquent debtors could not be served unless the creditors had notified the sheriff in writing that they were willing to accept the notes of specified banks. These were "the chartered banks of Cincinnati and Chillicothe in the State of Ohio, . . . any of the banks of the States of Tennessee and Kentucky, . . . the banks of Vincennes, of Missouri, of St. Louis, and of Illinois."[3] The preamble to this act pointed out that it would be disastrous to require the payment of debts in gold and silver.

The Bank of Illinois at Shawneetown was so successful — principally because of its favorable charter acquired through political maneuvers — that a year later, on January 9, 1818, another politician, Governor Ninian Edwards, secured a charter for the Bank of Edwardsville. Although it was known as Edwards' bank, this firm had out-of-state backing; only $5,475 of the first $30,000 of its capital came from Illinois — $22,625 came from Kentucky and $5,475 from St. Louis.

The Bank of Kaskaskia, also chartered January 9, 1818, never opened since its incorporators were unable to make sufficient capital stock sales. The third firm chartered on this day was the Bank of Cairo, which, unlike the others, remained aloof from politics throughout its entire existence.

A business contraction took place in 1818-1819, but the Illinois banks survived reasonably well. In 1819 the Shawneetown and Edwardsville banks were both designated by

3. Francis S. Philbrick, ed., *The Laws of Illinois Territory, 1809-1818* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* XXV, Springfield, 1950), 247.

the United States government as depositories for federal funds. In return for keeping on hand a fixed deposit of $50,000 and $40,000, respectively, the two firms could receive from Illinois land offices all notes paid in by land purchasers and transmit those notes *at par* to the nearest branch of the Second Bank of the United States. This brought added responsibility but also gave a sort of endorsement of the banks' stability.

The older Bank of Missouri at St. Louis resented the competition of its young Illinois rivals and tried to put them out of business. Once it went so far as to send a messenger to the Shawneetown bank with $12,000 of the latter's bank notes for redemption in specie.

In addition to competition from the St. Louis bank, the Shawneetown and Edwardsville banks competed with each other, and each refused to accept the other's notes. Ninian Edwards worked out a solution for the problem whereby each bank agreed not to present any of its currency for redemption at the other's place of business. Also, by mutual agreement, each bank on receiving the other's notes in everyday transactions sent such notes as far away as possible, thus making redemption more difficult.

An 1819 report on the condition of the nation's banks showed that those at Shawneetown and Edwardsville had on hand $52,021 in circulating notes and $74,715.51 in specie.[4] This sound condition came to an abrupt end the following year when a general tightening of eastern business ended the "easy money" era in which the banks had been founded and gave them their first real test.

The Bank of Illinois suspended specie payments by late August, 1821, although its notes continued to circulate at

4. House Doc. 86, 16th Cong., 1st Sess., facing p. 40.

par for a while. A further decline in its business forced it to close in 1823, although it did not surrender its charter.

The Bank of Edwardsville was less fortunate. In 1819 Edwards had become dissatisfied with the bank's operation and resigned. Although he was then serving as United States Senator in Washington, he did not reveal his action to the Secretary of the Treasury, William Harris Crawford. Instead, he asked the bank's president, Benjamin Stephenson, to inform the Secretary, and also to insist that no more public moneys be deposited in the bank. Edwards' apprehension about the bank's condition was not mentioned in his public announcement of resignation, although he maintained later that he had told Crawford of its precarious situation. The bank continued to operate after Edwards' resignation, even linking up financially with the Bank of Missouri, but it was in constant difficulty for failing to make redemptions when called upon to do so.

In the early autumn of 1821 failure of the Bank of Missouri caused a money panic in Edwardsville. The bank withstood a run which lasted for several days, but in the end it was forced to close. The government obtained a judgment of $54,000 for its deposited land receipts but reported several years later that the sum was uncollectible.

The Illinois Constitution of 1818 had stated that "there shall be no other banks or monied institutions in this state than those already provided by law, except a state bank and its branches which may be established." Consequently, the First General Assembly chartered a state bank. Capital was fixed at $4,000,000, one-half to be obtained at once by subscription. The charter provided that the bank could open as soon as it had received "in gold or silver, or in notes of

banks of the western country paying specie" an initial payment of $15,000. But even this small sum could not be raised. An amending act allowed subscribers to purchase stock with state auditor's warrants, but even this further aid did not produce the minimum capital, and the bank never came into being.[5]

In 1821 the legislature considered another bill that would create a bank based wholly on the faith and credit of the state, with no sale of stock offered to the public. After heated debate the bill passed the House by a 17-to-10 vote and the Senate by a small majority. And so was born the first operating State Bank of Illinois.[6]

Principal office of the new institution was at Vandalia, with branches at Shawneetown, Edwardsville, Brownsville in Jackson County and Palmyra in Wabash County (the latter two towns are no longer in existence). The capital stock of the bank was fixed at $500,000, but the first note issue was limited to $300,000, the balance of the capital being made "subject to the disposal of the next general assembly." The Vandalia bank was authorized to prepare $300,000 in notes, in denominations of $1 to $20, and to distribute them among the branches in proportion to the population of the branch towns. Thus, $84,685 went to Shawneetown, $83,517 to Edwardsville, $48,834 to Brownsville, $47,265 to Palmyra, and $35,699 was retained at Vandalia.

These notes were guaranteed by State of Illinois property and revenues, and were to be retired at the rate of 10 per cent per year. Meanwhile, all notes were to bear interest

5. An auditor's warrant was a signed, direct obligation of the state in the amount named, and was a negotiable type of currency if made payable "to the bearer."

6. "An Act establishing the State Bank of Illinois," *Laws of Illinois,* 2d Gen. Ass., 1st Sess., 1820-21, pp. 80-93.

at a 2 per cent per annum rate, and were receivable for all dues and taxes owing to the state. The state, of course, did not have $300,000 in cash capital, but in ten years it, no doubt, expected to have that amount. Other legislation prohibited private institutions from issuing paper currency, thus giving the state a monopoly on this function.

In July, 1821 the State Bank of Illinois opened for business. Almost everyone who could get an endorser borrowed $100 or more of the bank's new currency, and within a matter of days the entire $300,000 issue had been disbursed in loans. In theory, these new notes were to circulate on a par with gold and silver, but in less than a month their value was only seventy-five cents on the dollar; by the end of 1821 it was fifty cents; and by 1825 the figure had dropped to thirty cents. The underlying cause of depreciation was the fact that the bank had no specie for note redemption. In fact, hard coin was so scarce that one branch bank, upon receiving two silver dollars, put them "on exhibition as a curiosity."[7]

The notes of the State Bank of Illinois had been intended principally as a means of alleviating the distress of debtors and not as a permanent medium of exchange. But when the notes depreciated so sharply in value and the condition of the debtors did not improve, the public became disenchanted. As a result, a bill authorizing the issuance of $200,000 more in bank currency was defeated in the House, 24 to 9, in January, 1823. Furthermore, a legislative investigating committee recommended that the bank no longer ignore the provision requiring it to retire and destroy one-tenth of its note issue each year. In 1824 this same committee found that only the Edwardsville and Palmyra

7. James, *Growth of Chicago Banks,* I: 48.

branches showed any profit; the bank at Shawneetown was discovered to have made illegal loans without security or even proper recording.

Recommendation for liquidating the State Bank of Illinois followed these disclosures. In January, 1825 the legislature approved a bill ordering the cashier to burn all notes and wind up the bank's business. In Vandalia's public square $75,000 in face-value notes were burned later that month. Smaller sums met a similar fate in June and December, but the liquidation was not completed for several years.

Meanwhile, Illinois courts adhered to a United States Supreme Court ruling in a Missouri case and decided that the charter of the State Bank of Illinois was not in accord with the Constitution of the United States.[8] This ruling, in effect, made the bank's notes nothing but bills of credit. Promissory notes given in exchange for such bills were thus voided, and debtors were freed of their obligations to the bank.

The decision did not absolve the state, however, from redeeming its outstanding notes at full value. In 1830 some $150,000 in State Bank notes were still circulating. To meet this liability, the state had only $35,000 in cash. With an empty treasury and little taxable potential, the fearful legislature finally authorized the governor to borrow $100,000 by means of the sale of 6 per cent state stock. Governor John Reynolds was able to get the money from wealthy Samuel Wiggins of Cincinnati, and the loan permitted the legislature to close affairs of all branches of the first State Bank of Illinois. By January 1, 1832, $289,000 of the

8. *Craig et al.* v. *The State of Missouri,* 4 Peters 410, cited in James, *Growth of Chicago Banks,* I: 62, n. 76.

notes had been redeemed and destroyed, and by 1835 only $6,554.50 was still outstanding. Thus ended what may be called the early period in Illinois banking history.

By 1835 immigrants were coming to Illinois in large numbers — especially to the northern half of the state. Yet there was no common or sufficient medium of exchange with which to transact business. A few notes of the Bank of the United States did show up occasionally. But American silver coins plus those of Spanish, French and Mexican origin did not provide even an adequate supply of pocket money.

By 1835 new state legislators, having had no part in the first State Bank of Illinois debacle, were eager to launch another such enterprise, and the Illinois Supreme Court removed the last barrier when it advised that the banking bill under consideration was constitutional.[9] By an act of February 12, 1835 a new state bank was authorized to open when $250,000 in specie had been received. The head office was to be at Springfield, with branches at six other cities selected by the directors. A year later the number of branches was raised to nine, one to be at Vandalia (the state capital until 1839).

The bank charter, effective until January 1, 1860, set the capital at $1,500,000, to be raised by public subscription, except for $100,000 which was reserved for the legislature to subscribe to at any time that body so desired. No one person or corporation could control more than one hundred votes as a stockholder.

The bank was empowered "to carry on the business of banking, by discounting bills, notes, and other evidences of debt, by receiving deposites, and making all other contracts

9. *Ibid.*, 84.

involving the interest or uses of money; by buying or selling gold and silver bullion, foreign coins and bills of exchange, by issuing bills, notes, or other evidences of debt."[10] It could own no real estate except that necessary for its own business and could not, "directly or indirectly," trade in goods or merchandise.

The charter provided further that all notes were to be redeemable within ten days of presentation; if the bank was unable to make redemptions within that time, it was to be liquidated and its charter forfeited. Circulating notes were never to exceed two and one-half times the paid-in capital.

Response of the public to subscriptions of capital stock on April 10, 1835 was enthusiastic. Over $8,000,000 in subscriptions poured into Springfield within a few weeks, and the task of allotting the stock began.

But at this point events took a turn that nullified all the legislative safeguards. The ever-present Samuel Wiggins of Cincinnati and several others had acted to secure control of the bank by employing people in Illinois to subscribe to the stock for them. The scheme was discovered, and a legislative battle followed in an effort to learn who was behind the fictitious subscription registrations. Wiggins, Thomas Mather, and Godfrey, Gilman and Company of Alton were revealed as the actual purchasers, but they and their associates were politically strong enough to forestall action against themselves. Thus, sixteen people controlled 11,487 of the 14,000 shares. The Wiggins group, controlling 3,421 shares in their own names, elected Thomas Mather president and N. H. Ridgely cashier of the new state bank.

By July, 1835 the required $250,000 in specie had been raised, and the head office opened at Springfield. During

10. *Laws of Illinois,* 9th Gen. Ass., 1st Sess., 1834-35, pp. 7-14.

the next eight months branches were established at Alton, Belleville, Chicago, Danville, Galena, Jacksonville, Mt. Carmel, Quincy and Vandalia.

The new banks, too, were plagued with the difficulty of redeeming notes in specie even though they adhered strictly to the provision that each bank had to redeem only its own bills, not those of any other branch. Adding to that difficulty was the fact that the banks were never named federal depositories, despite the persistent efforts of President Mather. In rejecting Mather's bid, United States Attorney General Benjamin F. Butler ruled that the bank was contrary to the 1818 Illinois constitution in that it was not a "state bank" because there was no state money invested in it; that is, no state funds had ever been appropriated for its operational activities, including the backing of its currency.

Not discouraged, the bank tried to put its own house in order. It decided to repay both principal and interest on the Wiggins loan, to increase the capital stock by $1,000,000 and to open three new branches. Note issues were made receivable for all money due the state, unless otherwise designated by the governor, the auditor or the treasurer. But this time the additional $1,000,000 in stock went begging, and Wiggins again had to be called upon to the extent of $866,500. Not having this much ready capital, Wiggins in turn borrowed most of it back from the very bank he had agreed to finance.

The successful launching of the second State Bank of Illinois inspired others to turn to banking. The 1818 constitution specified that there should be only one state bank at any given time, but it also reserved the right of the old territorial banks to keep their charters. As a matter of fact, though all these banks had closed in the early 1820's, they

had never surrendered their charters, which the State Supreme Court held to be still valid.[11]

The defunct Bank of Cairo, which had been given a thirty-year charter by the territorial legislature, opened again in 1834 and concentrated on issuing notes. Not much official heed was given this bank since it made no effort to engage in politics (English investors controlled the bank's stock), and it was not long before Cairo bank notes became the chief circulating medium in southwestern Illinois.

The Shawneetown Bank of Illinois also reopened in 1834. Because its charter expired January 1, 1837 it received early attention from the legislature, being granted a twenty-year extension in 1835. In August, 1836 it was made a special depository for federal funds received at the Shawneetown Land Office. By 1837 the demand for Shawneetown bank funds prompted the legislature to authorize the bank to borrow $250,000 from eastern capitalists.

By late 1837 banks in Illinois were again overexpanding. Capital stock of the State Bank was increased by $2,000,000, all of this amount to be taken by the state, and stock of the Shawneetown bank was increased to $1,400,000. Of this sum, $1,000,000 was to be taken by the state if the bank agreed to sponsor the Public Improvements Act. To finance this grandiose plan for building roads, canals, railroads, etc., the Directing Board of Fund Commissioners was authorized to sell $3,000,000 of bonds under title of "Illinois Bank and Internal Improvement Stock," which paid 6 per cent interest and were guaranteed by the state.

The legislature secured control of bank affairs by electing additional directors to both the Springfield and Shawneetown banks, which were to be state fund depositories as long

11. *The People* v. *Marshall,* 1 Gilmore 672.

as their notes remained redeemable. The former bank got $100,000 in cash and the latter $235,000 for the internal improvement projects from surplus federal funds, but after that they received nothing, for the 6 per cent bonds found little or no market.

An act of the legislature of July 21, 1837 providing that the state could not sell any of its bank stockholdings "before the complete redemption of the bonds or certificates of stock" that had been issued, entangled the banks with fantastic political schemes far beyond their ability to handle.[12] This marriage of political and banking interests had no sooner occurred than the panic of 1837 "pulled the rug out from under" the various expensive improvement projects. Only work on the Illinois and Michigan Canal survived the crash.

The famous 1836 Specie Circular of the federal government providing that the government could receive payments for debts only in specie was revoked on May 31, 1838, thus making all kinds of money equally acceptable to the government. As a consequence, Illinois bank currency was soon in competition with corporation, city, county, private merchant and other types of scrip. The city of Chicago alone issued $5,000 in scrip, in one- to three-dollar denominations, because it could not borrow funds for current expenses from the Chicago branch of the State Bank. Small tradesmen issued "change notes," usually in five-cent to one-dollar denominations, "good for groceries," "payable in merchandise," "good for tobacco," or for whatever other commodity might be sold.

About this time the population increases in the Chicago, Alton and Galena areas made these towns overshadow those

12. *Laws of Illinois,* 10th Gen. Ass., Special Sess., 1837, p. 5.

in the southern end of the state, and a new and expanding banking era was about to begin. A series of events, each affecting the other, brought about the complete destruction of the old banking system, which had been a speculative one based on real estate mortgage and public improvement loans.

The first of these events took place October 9, 1839, when the Bank of the United States suspended specie payments everywhere except in New York and New England. The move was made to stem the tide of worthless notes being received each day for redemption in coin.

The State Bank of Illinois also suspended specie payments when it learned the news on October 20, 1839. The Bank of Illinois at Shawneetown did not do so until several weeks later, when demands for redemption became excessive.

In 1840 specie payments were resumed in the East, and Illinois banks had to follow suit or lose their business. Payment of $455,000 in coin brought specie reserves to the danger point. Since banks in nearby states to the south and west were not making specie payments, demands for specie from that whole area were channeled into Illinois. As a result, payments were again suspended in 1841, and Illinois banks sought additional relief from the legislature. In an attempt to alleviate the money shortage, the General Assembly authorized the State Bank to issue one-, two- and three-dollar notes until January 1, 1843. (Previously five-dollar notes were the smallest allowed.)

The financial roof fell in during 1842 when a minor depression forced over one hundred fifty banks in the country to close. Most of those which failed were of the speculative type, one of the first being the State Bank of Illinois. Its demise was announced to the public in February, 1842. Value of its notes immediately fell to forty-four cents on the

dollar. The Shawneetown bank survived a bit longer, not closing until June, 1842. The lax policy these banks had pursued devalued their currency even more than was common elsewhere. Illinois improvement bonds, the product of political financing, fell from fifty-five to fifteen by April, 1842, and the whole improvements program was stopped except for work on the Illinois and Michigan Canal, which was sponsored partly by the federal government.

Desperate legislators imposed an annual twenty-cent tax for every $100 worth of property, to be collected "until otherwise provided by law." All tax payments were to be "in gold and silver coin or Auditor's Warrants, and in no other currency."[13] No city or town could issue circulating warrants of any kind. Illinois bank notes were no longer receivable for state taxes or fees. Such notes, however, could be paid out by the state treasurer for any settlement of bills, at a value of fifty cents on the dollar. Upon depletion of such notes as were on hand, all future state bills were to be paid in specie. All public works except the canal project were put up for sale to the highest bidder, payment to be in gold or silver or in 100 per cent par bonds. The canal's loan requirements were to be met with private capital, which was to retain control and ownership of the canal until revenue therefrom paid off the debt, at which time ownership would revert to the state.

In 1843 the legislature voted to liquidate the State Bank, directing that its affairs be settled within four years. The Bank of Illinois at Shawneetown was also legislated out of existence, even though its officers objected strenuously, pointing out that it still had fifteen years of its charter life left.

The little Bank of Cairo — which had never asked favors

13. Cited in James, *Growth of Chicago Banks,* I: 152-53.

of the legislature and had never made any concessions to that body – was forced into bankruptcy in February, 1842, partially due to its financing of the Cairo City and Canal Company. The bankruptcy of the bank gave the hostile legislators ample reason for negating its charter, which was repealed in March, 1843.

The years 1842 through 1847 were spent in winding up the involved affairs of the banks. A new state constitution was in the offing, and no new bank legislation was considered until the constitution was finally drafted. When completed, this instrument of 1848 contained provisions for correcting all of the faulty banking regulations of the 1818 constitution. By only one vote did a prohibition of all incorporated banks fail. The new constitution did provide, however, that no banks could be created by special act of the legislature and that the state could not own any bank stock. If and when a general free banking act was passed, under which banks could be incorporated, the bill was to require double liability of the stockholders. Furthermore, such an act had to be approved by a majority vote at a general election. The principal result of the new constitutional provisions was that state involvement in banking was to be replaced by private enterprise.

Meanwhile, the gap in legislative provisions for banking between 1842 and 1847 had caused a severe shortage of pocket money. The situation was aggravated by the earlier prohibition of private scrip issued by business firms. The money shortage was especially acute in southern and western Illinois communities.

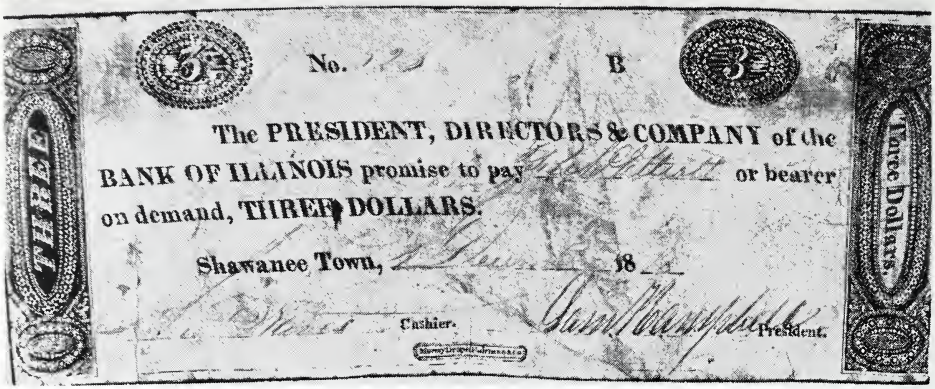
Chicago, which was taking its place alongside St. Louis and Cincinnati as a western metropolis, fared better because

it had a new type of bank, the deposit bank. This new banking had been adopted in Chicago at an early date, as evidenced by an 1849 newspaper advertisement which read in part, "A dollar saved is a dollar earned. R. K. Swift, Office over Kohn's Store, 111 Lake St."[14]

The acceptance of deposit banking, uncommon in that period, can no doubt be traced back to 1836, when the legislature granted a charter to the Chicago Marine and Fire Insurance Company. Ostensibly, this charter was for an insurance company, not a bank. In fact, one clause in the charter read that "nothing contained in this act shall confer on said corporation banking powers, or authorize it to issue notes in the similitude of bank notes, to be issued as a circulating medium in lieu of money."[15] But because the company was permitted "to receive money on deposit and loan it on bottomry and respondentia," it began to issue certificates of deposit for this purpose in 1837, in $1 to $500 denominations. The panic of 1837 withdrew some of these from circulation, but the issue was never entirely cut off.

This type of currency was carefully studied by one George Smith, a Scottish entrepreneur then living in the Midwest. In February, 1839 he obtained from the Wisconsin legislature a charter which was almost identical to that of the Chicago Marine and Fire Insurance Company. Operating his Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company at first only from Milwaukee, Smith and his main associate, Alexander Mitchell, issued certificates of deposit payable to bearer and redeemable in specie either at Milwaukee or at the office of an agent in Chicago. In this way Smith introduced his certificate-of-deposit circulation in Illinois.

14. *Ibid.*, 200.
15. *Ibid.*, 201.



Courtesy Chase-Manhattan Bank Museum of Moneys of the World, N.Y.

Shawneetown (Gallatin County): Bank of Illinois, $3 note. This was one of the notes in the first series of paper money issued in the state.

Sparta (Randolph County): Bank of Sparta, $2 note, 1860.

Thebes (Alexander County): Eagle Bank of Illinois, $2 note, 18___.

In a location remote from the legislature at Springfield and operating with a Wisconsin charter, Smith was not bothered by the ups and downs of other Illinois banks or by their political and currency troubles of the 1840's. The certainty of redemption gave Smith's money an ever growing reputation and popularity as the years went on, and it was accepted without question in both the Milwaukee and Chicago areas. By 1841 circulation had reached $29,000.

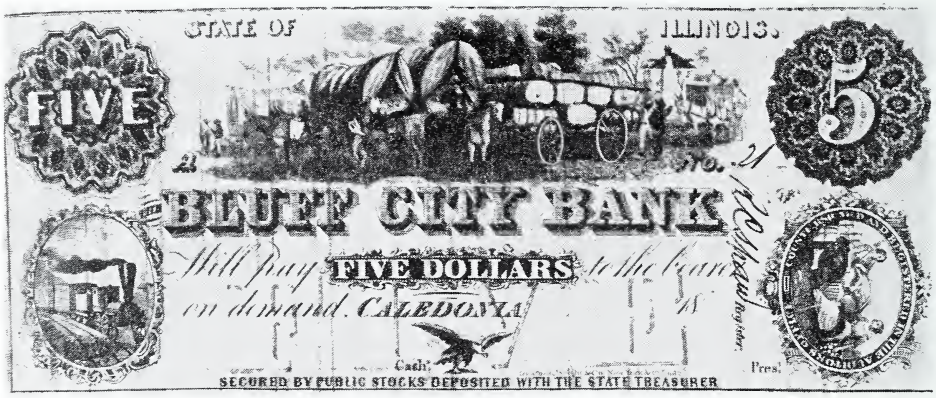
In 1846 Smith boldly pledged his own personal fortune to guarantee redemption of his notes if necessary. This evidently was on the eve of his great expansion of circulating notes, which amounted to only $250,000 in November, 1847 but which rose to $1,000,000 by October, 1849. By December, 1851 this figure reached $1,470,000. Smith's money now covered a six-state area, and redemption agencies were set up in Galena, St. Louis, Cincinnati and Detroit.

Rival banks tried to crowd Smith's money out of circulation by collecting as many notes as possible and then presenting them for redemption at one time. In 1849 the Milwaukee office was confronted with $100,000 of notes on the day after Thanksgiving. This move had been preceded by a deliberately spread rumor that the bank had failed, and it was not long before a run began at every one of Smith's redemption agencies. But so great was the faith of the public that deposits were almost as great as withdrawals, and the company weathered the storm.

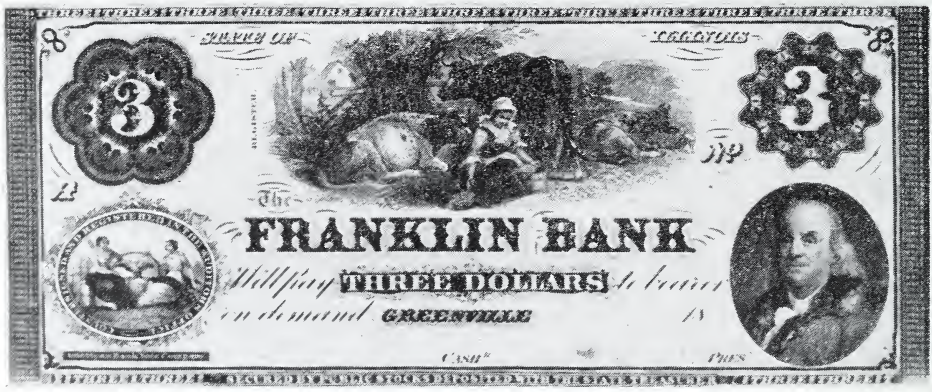
Thus, in 1850, shortly after the new Illinois constitution had become effective, Smith's notes were all over the Midwest in great number, especially in northern Illinois. Still circulating farther south were a small number of Bank of Illinois notes, now at a 75 per cent discount, and a smaller

Courtesy Chase-Manhattan Bank Museum of Moneys of the World, N.Y.

Quincy (Adams County): Farmers and Merchants Exchange Co., $3 note, 1851 or 1852.



Caledonia (Boone County): Bluff City Bank, $5 note, 1860.



Greenville (Bond County): Franklin Bank, $3 note, 18__.

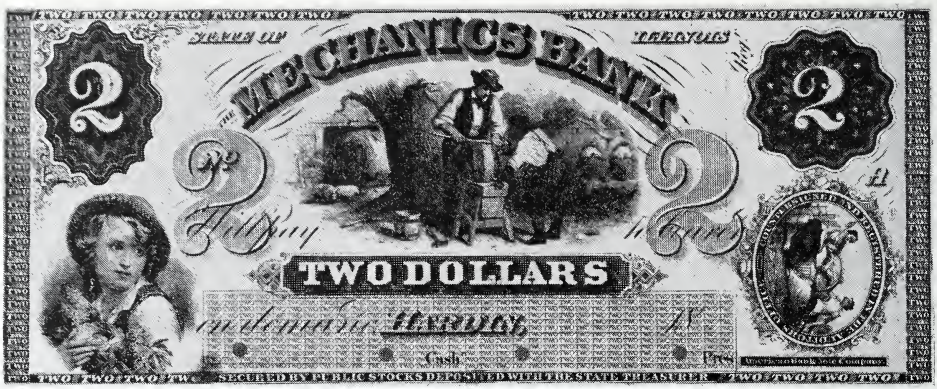
number of those of the second State Bank of Illinois, at a 50 per cent discount. In addition, there were about $500,000 worth of St. Louis bank notes, not to mention various "wildcat" notes from other states. Population and business had increased to such proportions, however, that there was widespread dissatisfaction with available banking facilities. Consequently, in 1851 there was strong backing for a new bank bill – which had been provided for in the 1848 constitution – and one was passed that year over the veto of Governor Augustus C. French. The law was approved later by a 37,578 to 31,321 vote at a general election. It was carried by the overwhelming support of the northern counties of the state (only four north of Springfield opposed it); those in the south generally disapproved of the measure.

This new law allowed bank charters to run for not more than twenty-five years and were issuable to any applicant. Capital stock had to be at least $50,000, and stockholders were liable for an amount equal to par value of their stock in event of failure. Circulating notes could be obtained from the state auditor in exchange for national or state bonds, and these notes were to be redeemable in specie.

Strangely, despite the evident popularity of the new bank law, there was no great rush to obtain charters, for the feeling among prospective bankers was that the act was too stringent.

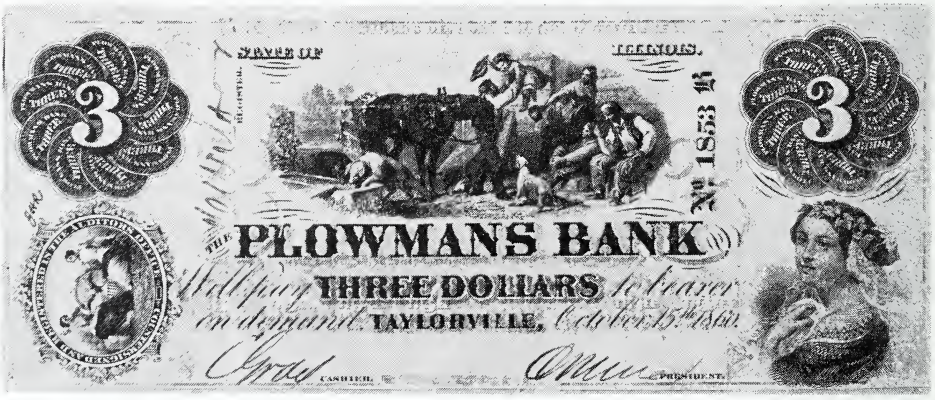
J. Young Scammon of Chicago received the first charter under the new law on January 13, 1852. His "Marine Bank" was incorporated to take over the banking operations of his Chicago Marine and Fire Insurance Company. Circulating notes of the new bank appeared in Chicago for the first time on April 17, 1852.

The second charter went to the Merchants and Mechanics



Hardin (Calhoun County): The Mechanics Bank, $2 note.

Beardstown (Cass County): Champlin, Smith & Co., on the Banking House of J. C. Leonard & Co., $10 note, 185—.



Courtesy Chase-Manhattan Bank Museum of Moneys of the World, N.Y.

Taylorville (Christian County): The Plowmans Bank, $3 note, 1860.

Bank, also of Chicago. In June, 1852 Clark's Exchange Bank of Springfield was chartered, and by December seventeen banks were in operation. In the spring of 1854 that number had increased to thirty-one. Despite the large number of new banks, the state auditor's biennial report of 1854 showed that only about 30 per cent of the circulating notes in Illinois were from Illinois banks. This condition prevailed because the new banks followed the accepted practice of placing their notes in far-away states in order to reduce redemptions to a minimum.

Meanwhile, the first official recognition of certificates of deposit – which had been circulating since 1837 – appeared in the state auditor's report of 1852. He stated, "Some legislation seems to be necessary to prevent the further issuing of certificates of deposit, draft, &c., in the similitude of bank notes, and for the immediate redemption of those now in circulation."[16] But this report apparently did not affect the chief issuer, George Smith. He obtained a charter for the Bank of America in Chicago and also obtained control of the Washington, D.C., Bank of America. Notes on the two banks were almost identical, and since no securities on deposit were necessary for circulation of the Washington notes, Smith printed large numbers of them and alternated circulation between the two banks and cities. He supplemented these with notes of his Atlanta Bank and the International Bank of Griffin, Georgia, both unbacked by deposit of securities.

However, a constant attack on Smith's notes, specifically, and on all certificates of deposit, generally, followed. Smith's enemies were his envious competitors; his friends were the

16. "Biennial Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts," p. 5., published in *General Laws of Illinois*, 18th Gen. Ass., 1853.

Chicago: The Bank of Chicago, $1 note, 1852.

Courtesy PhilaMatic Center, Boys Town, Neb.

Jackson (location unknown): The Exporting, Mining & Manufacturing Company's Bank of Illinois, $1 note, 1837.

Marshall (Clark County): Corn Planters Bank, $3 note, 1860 or 18__.

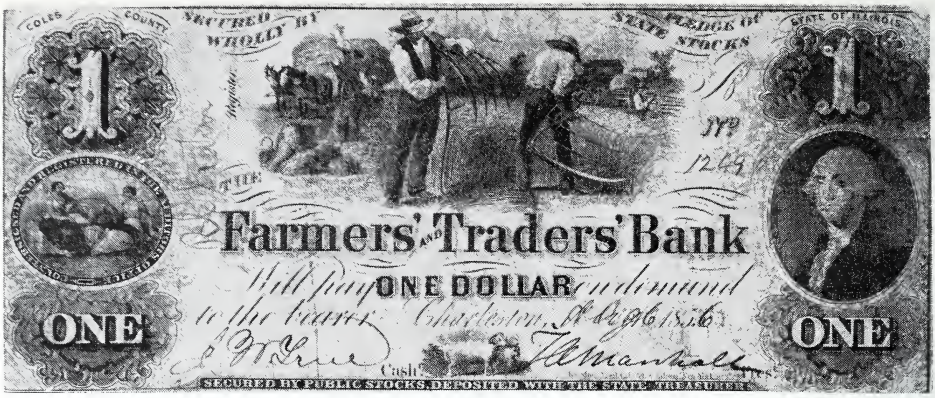
general public who had confidence in the redemptive quality of any note he issued. The nature of the conflict between Smith and his competitors can best be illustrated by an incident that occurred on a Chicago street. One day when Smith and J. Young Scammon met, Smith inquired how many notes Scammon's Marine Bank had in circulation. When Scammon replied, "$175,000," he was quietly told that Smith held $125,000 of this amount and was likely to present the notes for payment any day.[17] This powerful threat of a redemption reprisal ended attacks on Smith's money, but only temporarily, for Scammon and others continued the fight by resorting to the courts. On December 23, 1852, the grand jury of Cook County was presented evidence for the indictment of Smith and others for issuing certificates of deposit, but no action was taken.

It became obvious to Smith's opponents that they could gain their objective only through legislative action. On February 10, 1853, they succeeded in having an act passed that made it illegal to issue, or to receive on deposit, any form of paper money other than bank notes. The penalty for violation was a $50 fine for each illegal bill passed or received, plus a possible jail term. This drastic measure forced Smith to sell his holdings, and in a few years he returned to Scotland.[18]

By December, 1854, unauthorized certificates of deposit had entirely disappeared from circulation in Illinois. For the first time in its history the state had a legal bond-secured currency issued by incorporated banks. Late in 1854 a minor recession tested the new banking practices. Demand for

17. James, *Growth of Chicago Banks,* I: 229-30.

18. George Smith returned to the United States in 1860 and successfully invested his money in Chicago real estate and railroads. He died in London in 1899 with a reputed fortune of near $100,000,000.



Charleston: The Farmers' and Traders' Bank, $1 note, 1856.

Grayville (Edwards County): The Grayville Bank, $2 note, 1859.

Courtesy PhilaMatic Center, Boys Town, Neb.

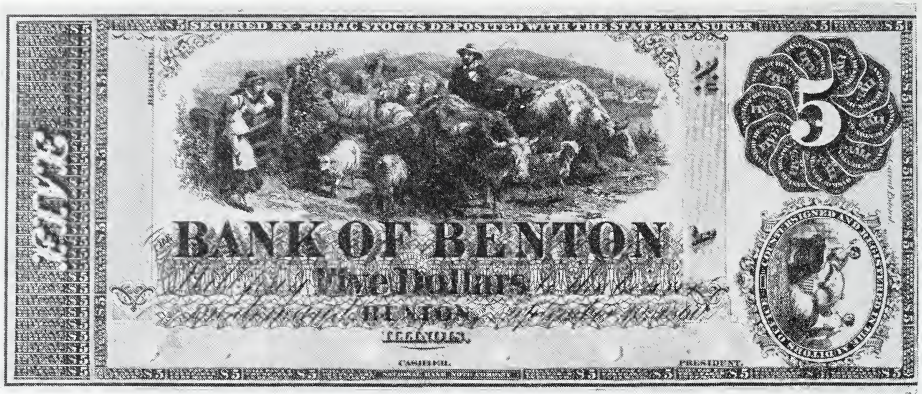
Elizabethtown (Hardin County): The Shawanese Bank, $5 note, 1860.

credit had risen in the 1852-1854 period, and Illinois banks – with their new circulating notes – were furnishing much of this credit for neighboring states. Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin and Indiana had embarked on various public projects far beyond their capacity to handle except upon the most liberal of long-term credit arrangements. Crises developed in numerous states almost simultaneously, depreciating currency and closing a number of banks, especially in Indiana. This decline cut the value of Illinois bank notes by as much as 25 per cent.

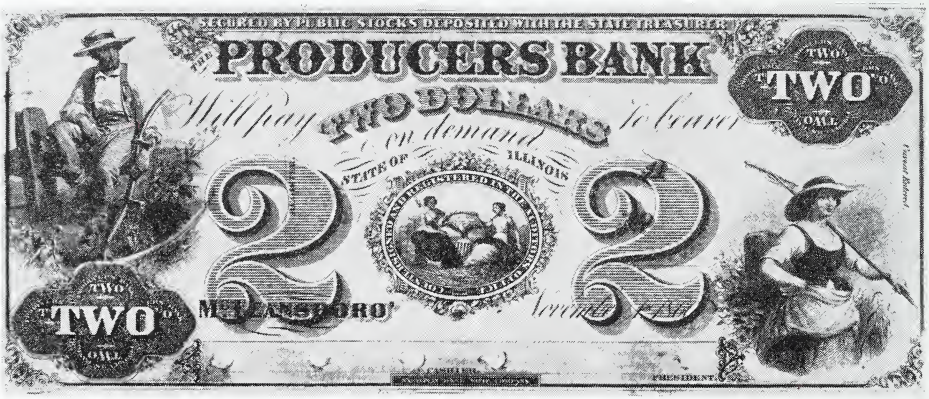
Only a rapid general recovery of business saved the Illinois banking system from a serious blow, which it was in no position to withstand in view of its insufficient specie reserves and large loans on slow, improper credit risks. Having luckily weathered this brief storm, Illinois banks increased in number through 1856, largely on account of population gains in new areas hitherto without banking facilities. In Chicago, on the other hand, the recession had been more critical, and only three of the city's ten banks were left by 1856. Bank note circulation fell from $728,000 to $127,000 in the two-year period. The money deficiency in Chicago attracted every sort of outside wildcat bank note. Historian Alfred T. Andreas tells of a railroad conductor whose $203 in fares collected for a September, 1855 trip were in notes from twelve different states, only $20 of which came from Illinois banks and only $1 from a Chicago bank.[19]

In the meantime, other states that had suffered in the near-panic of 1854 began to pass remedial legislation for strengthening their banks. Early in 1857 Illinois legislators followed their example. Henceforth, all banks in this state had to conduct their entire business at the office specified in

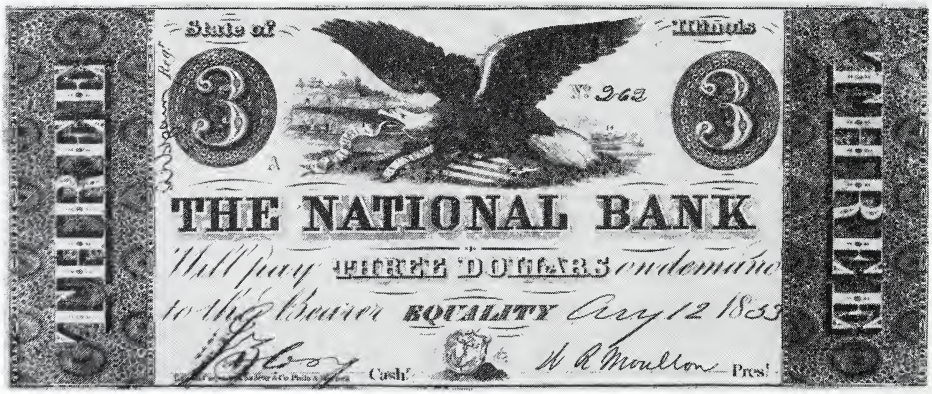
19. Andreas, *History of Chicago,* I: 546.



Benton (Franklin County): The Bank of Benton, $5 note, 1860.



McLeansboro (Hamilton County): The Producers Bank, $2 note, 1860.



Equality (Gallatin County): The National Bank, $3 note, 1853.

their incorporation papers, and said office had to be located in a community of not less than two hundred people. Thus wildcat banks or redemption offices in inaccessible backwood areas were eliminated. Also, no bank could be incorporated unless it had an actual $50,000 capital on hand. This last provision also applied to banks already in operation: They could issue no more notes for circulation until the capital requirement was met. Stringent regulations were placed on redemption of bank notes, including the right given a note holder to force a bank into receivership if, within ten days, the bank could not make any redemption requested.

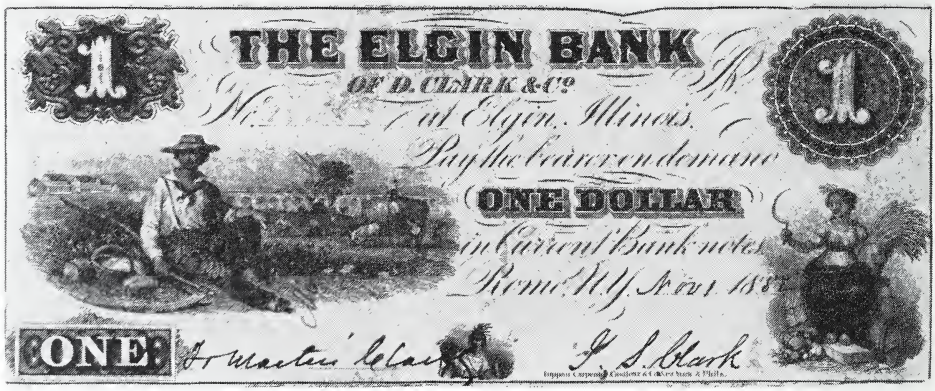
The 1857 law placed Illinois banks and their currency on the soundest basis they had ever been. And it was well that this was so, for the full-sized panic of 1857 was just around the corner. On August 24, 1857 the closing of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company, with its vast financial connections in both the East and West, set off a chain reaction that closed hundreds of business firms as far west as Illinois. The Ohio Company was heavily indebted to several New York banks, including the Mechanics Banking Association, which also closed its doors. The contraction spread to Philadelphia, Boston and Buffalo. Hardly a city in the East was left unscathed. Chicago was the first city in the West to feel the adverse effects, and a private banking house, E. R. Hinckley and Company, was the first to close in the summer of 1857.

Although only one defect remained in the Illinois currency system, it was a great one, and the hard times of 1857 revealed it for what it was. This defect was in the quality of bonds deposited to secure note circulation. In 1857 over one-half of such bonds were obligations of the state of Missouri, which had a nineteen-million-dollar internal-improve-

Newton (Jasper County): Eastern Bank of Illinois, $1 note, 1860.

Courtesy PhilaMatic Center, Boys Town, Neb.

Vienna (Johnson County): The American Bank. $5 note, 1859.



Elgin: The Elgin Bank of D. Clark & Co., $1 note, 1852.

ment debt on its books. Decline of Missouri bond prices forced some Illinois banks to contract their circulation or to provide additional securities. Those unable to do so were liquidated.

Despite rules to the contrary, bankers began to refuse to redeem their notes in gold. This placed a premium on gold and eastern bank notes but depreciated Illinois currency. An interesting sidelight of this period of decline was the reaction in Chicago, where newspaper editorials openly urged the return of George Smith and his money. They contrasted the increasing number of bank failures and the variation in bank note values with the unfluctuating and completely redeemable Smith currency.

It was not until specie payments were resumed in New York on December 14, 1857 that recovery began. But Illinois did not feel the impetus until mid-1858. In the 1858 to 1861 period the number of Illinois banks increased from 39 to 104 and doubled the bank note circulation of 1856. (Only fourteen incorporated banks failed in the four years following the advent of the Free Banking Act of 1857.)

After the 1857 distress another wave of banking reform swept over many states. Illinois was again tardy, but in 1861 a banking reform act was passed. This law provided that bonds deposited as security for circulation had to be obligations either of Illinois or of the federal government, both receivable at full value. Secondly, all banks had to redeem their notes, in either Chicago or Springfield, at not more than ½ of one per cent discount. The maximum value of notes issued by any bank could not exceed three times its paid-in capital. No bank could make loans through agents or brokers, and none could be located in a community with fewer than one thousand people.

Momence (Kankakee County): The Bank of Momence, $2 note, 1860.

Waukegan: The Bank of Northern Illinois, $1 note, 1852.

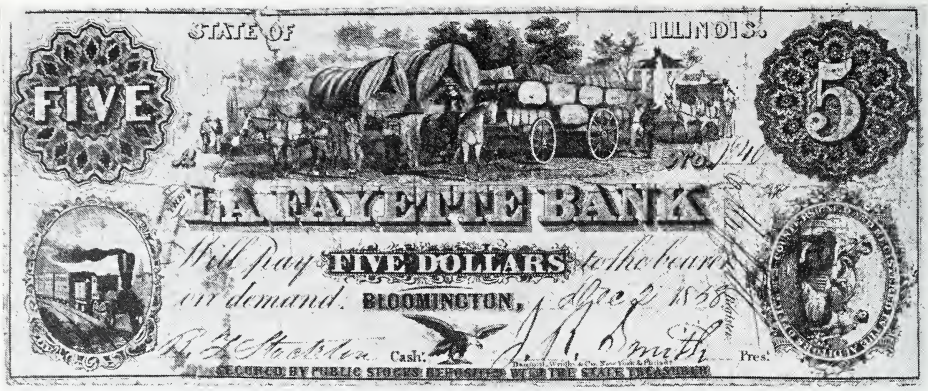
Dixon's Ferry (now Dixon, Lee County): The Dixon Hotel Company, $5 note, 1838.

Further legislation proposed the creation of a Union Bank of Illinois, made up of semi-independent branches in all principal towns but with a central board of directors controlling policy and supervision. The legislature actually passed such a bill in February, 1861, but it was overwhelmingly defeated in the referendum vote of November, 1862.

By 1861 southern money had been withdrawn from northern commercial and banking activities to such an extent that very little of it remained in the North. With $12,320,000 of Illinois bank notes in circulation in 1860, this state was especially vulnerable to financial adversity, since two-thirds of the bonds behind this circulation were those of southern states. The value of Illinois notes consequently fell to less than fifty cents on the dollar by early 1861.

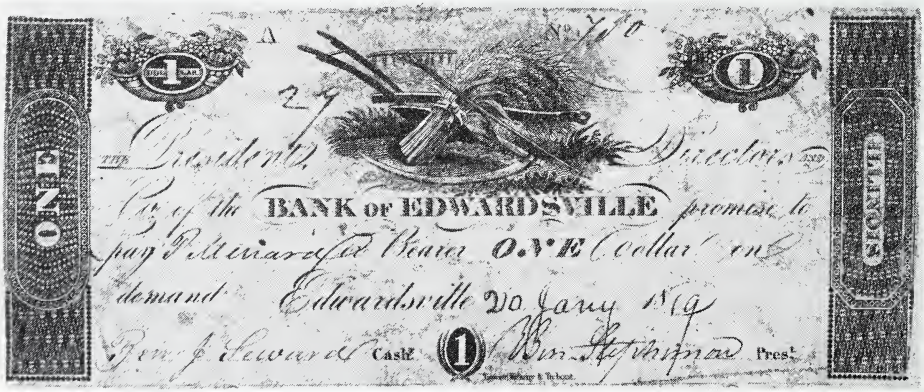
In November, 1860, Illinois bank commissioners had demanded additional securities from twenty-two banks. Seventeen could not produce the securities by March, 1861 and were compelled to liquidate. By this date also, further declines had necessitated similar calls from almost every bank in the state. Thirty-nine operating banks had difficulty finding anyone who would accept their notes. Notes from only twenty-three banks in the state were accepted at par. These better notes were hoarded, leaving only the poorest in circulation. Chicago had only one note-issuing firm — the Marine Bank — but its notes were still at par.

During the Civil War everyone demanded specie, and bank notes were refused more often than they were accepted. Quotations on currency of the banks varied from day to day and from town to town. Note circulation dropped from $3,500,000 in October, 1861, to $566,163 in December, 1862, with only seventeen banks still operating. At the close of 1864 less than $200,000 worth of Illinois notes remained in



Bloomington: The Lafayette Bank, $5 note, 1858.

Metropolis (Massac County): The Douglas Bank, $3 note, 1860.



Edwardsville (Madison County): Bank of Edwardsville, $1 note, 1819.

circulation. The continuing reduction of Illinois bank notes brought about the collapse of the free banking system of the state. Fortunately, the inception of United States Treasury greenbacks and national bank notes left no further need for the earlier system of banking with its fluctuating currency.

The only other significant aspect of early banking in Illinois was the issuance of private fractional scrip notes by literally thousands of merchants, towns, railroads and factories during the Civil War when money was in such short supply. Some of this fractional scrip bore the words "issued under the law of necessity," or similar phrases, to indicate the circumstances under which it was printed and circulated.

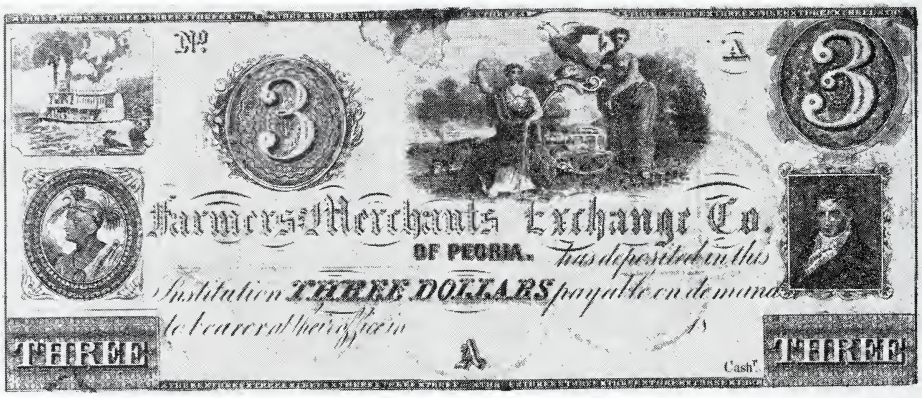
Early Illinois Paper Currency

The following list of Illinois paper currency is the most complete ever published. Even so, the writer believes that the 850-odd separate notes listed comprise only slightly more than one-half of the total issued by Illinois institutions between 1817 and 1865.

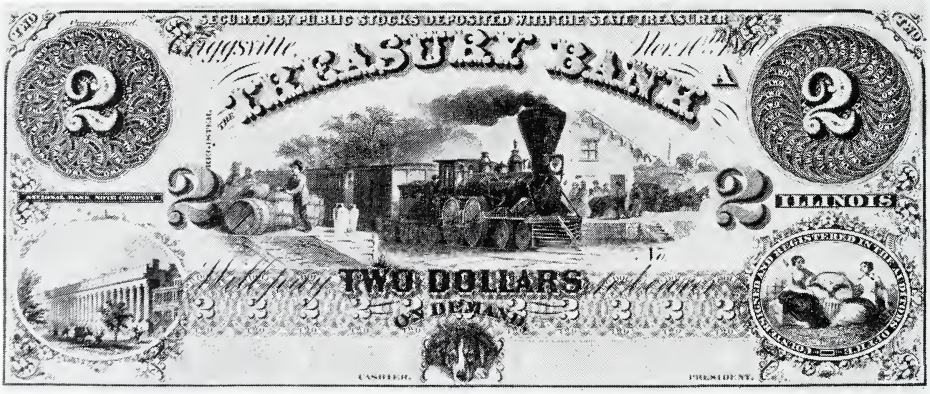
The writer has attempted to acquire notes (or photographs of notes owned by other collectors) from all the counties of Illinois. Since many counties were too small to have had banks before 1865, approximately three-fourths of the counties that actually issued notes are believed to be represented in the illustrations accompanying this article.

Without the co-operation of the following numismatists and historians, this listing would not have been possible: Colonel J. R. Curtis, Springfield, Illinois; Glenn B. Smedley, Oak Park, Illinois; Fred E. Durin, Steward, Illinois; Dr. Julian Blanchard, New York City; R. L. Zywicki and Paul M. Angle of the Chicago Historical Society; Vernon L. Brown, curator of the Chase-Manhattan Moneys of the World Collection; D. O. Barrett, curator of PhilaMatic Center, Boys Town, Nebraska; Arlie R. Slabaugh, Chicago; D. L. Austin, chief curator of the American Numismatic Society; Grover Criswell of Pass-a-Grille,

Sullivan (Moultrie County): The Kaskaskia Bank, $5 note, 1860.



Peoria: Farmers and Merchants Exchange Co. of Peoria, $3 note, 18___.



Griggsville (Pike County): The Treasury Bank, $2 note, 1860.

Florida; J. Lisle Laufer, Hampshire, Illinois; and Lee F. Hewitt, Chicago. Also an acknowledgment should be made to Dr. John Muscalus, D. C. Wismer and R. Edward Davis for their earlier work.

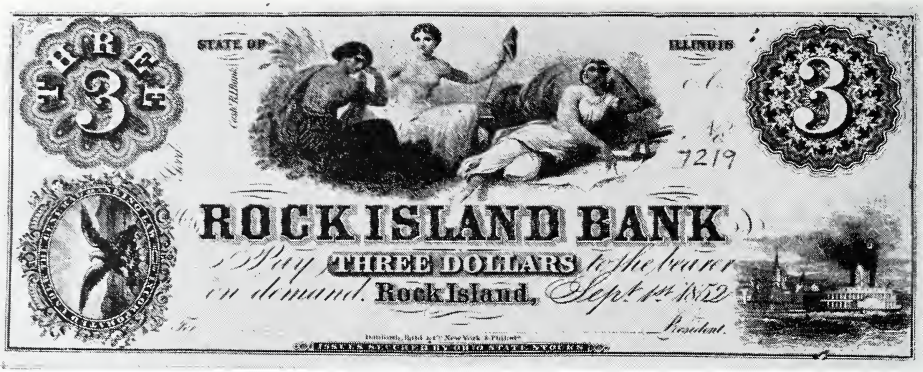
Unless otherwise stated, each item listed is a bank note. Variations of notes of identical denomination are indicated by the word "different" abbreviated, as (diff.). Symbols in brackets represent the publisher or engraver of the note. Dates and symbols given at the end of a series apply to all the notes in that series, unless otherwise indicated.

Following is a key to the symbols:

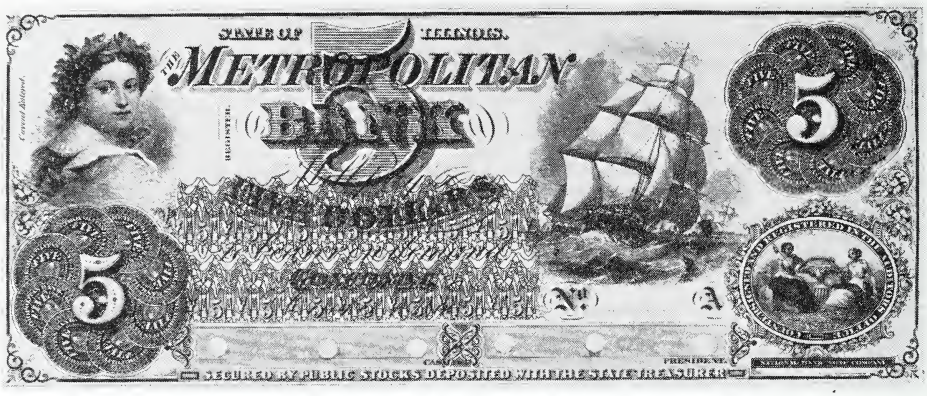
[A] Transcript print
[B] Doolittle & Munson
[C] Rounds, Printer, 48 State St.
[D] Root, Anthony & Co., N. Y.
[E] American Bank Note Co.
[F] National Bank Note Co.
[G] Durand & Co., N. Y.
[H] Danforth, Bald & Co., N. Y. & Phila.
[I] Danforth, Underwood & Co., N. Y.
[J] Danforth, Wright & Co., Phila. & N. Y.
[K] Danforth, Perkins & Co., Phila. & N. Y.
[L] Wellstood, Whiting & Hay, N. Y. & Chicago
[M] Wellstood, Hanks, Hay & Whiting, N. Y. & Chicago
[N] Toppan, Carpenter & Co., Cincinnati
[O] Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear & Co., Phila. & N. Y.
[P] New England Bank Note Co.
[Q] Underwood, Bald, Spencer & Hufty
[R] Rawdon, Wright & Hatch & Co., N. Y.
[S] Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Edson, N. Y.
[T] Tanner, Kearney & Tiebout
[U] Woodruff & Hammond, Cincinnati
[V] Jocelyn, Draper, Welsh & Co.
[W] J. T. Hammond & Co., St. Louis
[X] No imprint
[Y] C. Hamilton & Co., Litho., St. Louis
[Z] Burton, Gurley & Edmonds, N. Y.

[AA] Draper, Toppan & Co., Phila.
[BB] Toppan, Carpenter & Co., N. Y. & Phila.
[CC] Baldwin, Bald & Cousland, N. Y.
[DD] Bald, Cousland & Co., Phila.
[EE] *Lith. by Ed. Mendel, 162 Lake St., Chicago
[FF] Bald, Cousland & Co., N. Y. & Phila.
[GG] Woodruff & Mason, Cincinnati
[HH] Western Bank Note Co.
[II] Lith. of Robertson & Seibert, 93 Fulton St., N. Y.
[JJ] Hill, Printer
[KK] Holcomb & Co.
[LL] Draper, Toppan & Co., N. Y.
[MM] B. F. Corliss & Macy, Stationers, 33 Nassau St., N. Y.
[NN] Lith. by Chas. Robin & Co., St. Louis, Mo.
[OO] Wellstood, Hanks, Hay & Whiting, N. Y.
[PP] *Ed Mendel, Chicago
[QQ] Weber & Smith, Print.
[RR] T. R. Whitney, St. Louis, Mo.
[SS] Wellstood, Hay & Whiting, N. Y.
[TT] Ferd. Mayer & Co., 96 Fulton St., N. Y.

* Ed Mendel, Chicago, had as many as six imprint variations, but there were only two major ones, with and without a street address, as listed herewith.



Rock Island (Rock Island County): Rock Island Bank, $3 note, 1852.



Golconda (Pope County): The Metropolitan Bank, $5 note, 1860.

Cairo (Alexander County): The Planters Bank, $1 note, 18___.

[UU] A. M. Wood, Printer, 23 Clark St., Chicago
[VV] Lith. Chas. Stober, Chicago
[WW] Murray, Draper & Fairman
[XX] Draper, Toppan, Longacre & Co., Phila. & N. Y.
[YY] N. Dane & Co., Engr.
[ZZ] C. Toppan & Co., Phila.
[AZ] Wellstood, Penson & Hanks, N. Y.
[BZ] Dunlop, Sewell & Spalding, Printers
[CZ] Barnet, Printers
[DZ] Hatch & Co., Trinity Building, 111 Broadway, N. Y.
[EZ] J. M. Kersaw, St. Louis
[FZ] E. Robinson's Print, Nauvoo

ALBION: Exchange Bank, $1.25, $2.50. 1862 [E]
Bank of Albion, $5, $10. [FF]

ALEDO: Bank of Alledo [*sic*], $5

ALTON: The Alton Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5, $5 (diff.), $10, $10 (diff.). 18__ [S]
Jones & Sawyer, 25c. (scrip)

ANNA: Wheat Growers Bank, $1, $2, $5, $10

AURORA: (*See* West Aurora)

BEARDSTOWN: Champlin, Smith & Co., on Banking House of J. C. Leonard & Co., 10c, $10. 185__ [H]

BELLEVILLE: Bank of Belleville, $1, $2, $3, $5. 1856 [J]
Southern Bank of Illinois, $1, $2, $5, $10
St. Clair Savings & Insurance Company, 5c, 10c, 25c, 50c. 1862 [X]
Belleville Nail Co., 10c. 187__ [X]

BELVIDERE: The Belvidere Bank, $1, $3, $5

BENTON: Frontier Bank, $5, $10. 1859 [E and FF]
Union Bank, $1, $2. 1860 [E]
Bank of Benton, $5. 1860 [F]

BISHOP HILL: Western Exchange Fire & Insurance Co. of Omaha City, Neb., but with "Bishop Hill Colony" and "Nov. 2, 1857" printed on notes, 25c, 50c, $1, $2, $3, $5. Nov. 2, 1857 [J]
L. Bjorkland, 25c, 50c. (scrip) 1862 [X]

BLOOMINGTON: Lafayette Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5, $5 (diff.). 1858 [E or J]
Bank of Bloomington, $1, $2, $3, $5. 1861 [J or BB]
McLean County Bank, $1, $2
Chicago, Alton & St. Louis R.R., $10. (scrip, "payable at Merchants & Drovers Bank of Joliet") 1850 or 185__ [D]
City of Bloomington, 10c, 25c, 50c, $1. (scrip)

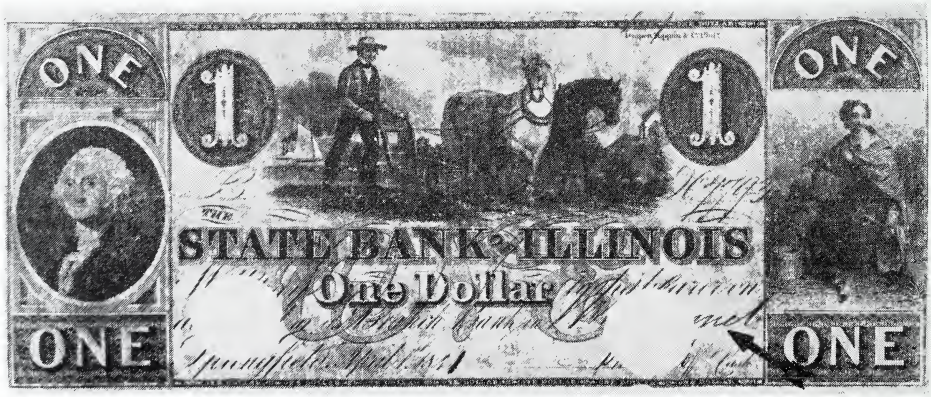
BOLTON (*now* Stonefort): Bank of Southern Illinois, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10

BREESE: B. Buhne, 5c. (scrip, "issued under the law of Necessity") 1862
R. S. M. Donne, 10c. (scrip) 1862

BROOKLYN: Bank of Brooklyn, $1. 185__ [E]

Belleville (St. Clair County): The Bank of Belleville, $2 note, 1856.

Toulon (Stark County): The Toulon Bank, $2 note, 1860.



Mt. Carmel (Wabash County): The State Bank of Illinois, Branch Bank, $1 note, 1841.

Bureau County: Board of Supervisors, Soldiers' Relief Fund, $2. 1864

Cairo: Bank of Cairo, $1, $2, $2 (diff.), $3, $5, $5 (diff.). 1841 or 184__ [I]

Planters Bank, $1, $2. 18__ [E]

City Bank of Cairo, $1, $2, $3, $5

Caledonia: Bluff City Bank, $2, $5, $5 (diff.). 1860 [J]

Carbondale: Bank of Jackson County, $5, $10

S. H. Freeland, 5c, 10c, 25c, 50c. (scrip, "redeemable in currency when presented in sums of One Dollar or in Gold when presented in sums of Ten Dollars") 1862 [X]

Carlyle: J. W. Maddux, 25c. (scrip, "Issued under the law of Necessity") 186__ [NN]

Carmi: Peoples Bank, $1 — 1853 to 1855 [J]; $2 — 1860 [K]; $5

Bank of Carmi, $1, $1 (diff.), $2, $5, $10. 1859 [K]

Merchants Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10. 1860 [F]

Charleston: Farmers' and Traders' Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5. 1856 [S]

Chebanse: E. S. Richmond, 10c. (scrip)

Chenoa: J. R. Snyder, 25c. (scrip)

Chester: Bank of Chester, $1, $2, $3, $5

Jos. B. Holmes, $1. (scrip, "payable in Chester or Liberty") [NN]

Chicago: Merchants' & Planters' Bank, $50 — 1839, $100 — 1838. [X]

Phenix Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5. 1853 [LL]

Merchants and Mechanics Bank, $1, $3, $5. 1852 [H]

The Chicago Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5. 1852 or undated

Farmer's Bank, $1, $2, $5. 1852

Bank of Chicago, $1, $2, $3 — 1852 (with overprinted numerals and name of bank printed vertically at left) [N]; also, $1, $2, $3 — 1852 (no overprint or printed bank name at left) [N]

Bank of America, $1, $2, $3

Marine Bank, $1, $1 (diff.), $2, $3, $5, $5 (diff.), $10, $20. 1852 or 1853 [G]

Union Bank of Illinois, $1, $2, $3. 18__ [OO]

City Bank of Chicago, $1, $1 (diff.), $1 (diff.), $2, $3, $5. 1836

Bank of Commerce, $1, $3. 185__ [P]

Commercial Bank, $1, $3, $5, $10

Trader's Bank, $1, $5. [E]

Exchange Bank of H. A. Tucker & Co., $1, $2, $3, $5

Treasurer's Bank, $1

E. I. Tinkham and Company's Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5

Chicago Marine & Fire Insurance Co., $1 (plate A), $2 (plate B), $3 (plate C), $5 (plate D). (certificates of deposit) 18__ [P]

Danville (Vermilion County): The State Bank of Illinois, $2 note, 1841.

Carmi (White County): The Merchants' Bank, $3 note, 1860.

Joliet: The Merchants and Drovers Bank of Illinois, $3 note.

State Bank of Illinois, Chicago Branch Bank, $10. 1838 [S]
Branch State Bank at Chicago, "charge to the Ill. & Mich. Canal Fund," $1, $2, $5, $10, $50, $100, $100 (diff.) — approximate size 4" x 7½". 1839 [X]
City of Chicago, $1, $2, $3. 1838
Chicago, South Western Plank Road Company, $1, $2, $3. (scrip) 1851 [AZ]
Thomas Church (written signature only), 25c. (scrip) 1837 [X]
Stryker & Co., 150 Lake St., 25c. (scrip)
Geo. Randolph, 5c. (scrip, "payable in Ill. & Mich. Canal 6% Scrip")
Chadwick & Co., $1. (scrip)
Chicago Times, 5c. (scrip)
Pedman & Co., 25c, 50c. (scrip)
Ross & Co., 167 Lake St., 25c. (scrip)
P. Palmer & Co., 112-116 Lake St., 25c, 50c. (scrip) 186__ [C]
Philip Conley, 137 Lake St., 25c, 50c. (scrip) 1861 [BZ]
A. G. Downs, 150 Lake St., 25c, 50c. (scrip) 1861 [CZ]
Galloway & Co., Provision Dealers, 190 S. Water St., 5c. (scrip) *ca.* 1863 [X]
Lyman Burr, Camp Douglas, 25c. (post sutler's note)
N. Chicago Rolling Mill Co., $10. (scrip) 1873
John Munzel, $5. (scrip) undated, *ca.* 1876
Stein Co., 83 Clark St., $3. (advertising note) 1868
De Graff & Co., $15. (advertising note)
City of Paris Store, $3. (advertising note) 1868
Civil War, Dept. Provost General's Office, Chicago, Ill., amounts written in. 1865 [DZ]

COLUMBIA: City of Columbia, 10c, 25c. (scrip) 1862

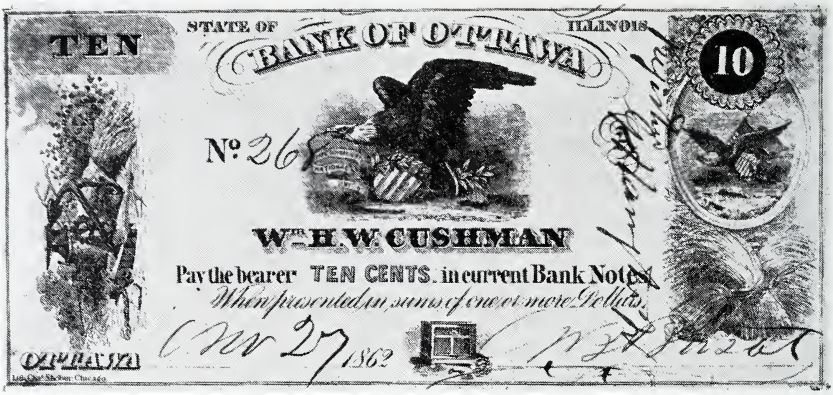
DANVILLE: Stock Security Bank, $1, $2, $5
State Bank of Illinois, Branch Bank, $1, $2, $10. 1841 [AA]
Tincher & English, 10c, 15c, 50c. (scrip)

DECATUR: Railroad Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5. 1853 to 1855 [M]
Millikin & Odor, Bankers, 5c, 10c. 1862 [MM] (These notes are identical except for denomination.)

DIXON: Dixon Hotel Co., $2 (plate A), $2 (plate B), $3 (plate C), $5 (plate D). 18__ [G]
Dixon Hotel Co., $2 (plate A), $3 (plate A), $5 (plate A), $5 (plate B). 18__ [G]

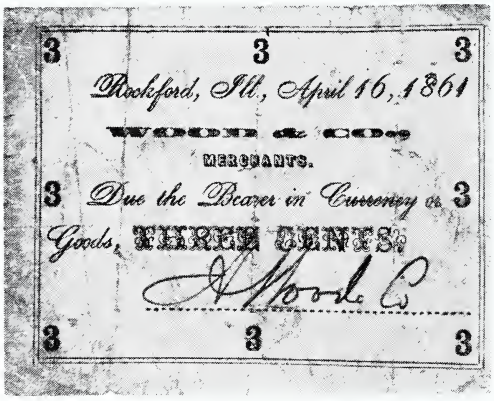
DIXON'S FERRY (*now* Dixon): Dixon Hotel Co., $1 (plate A), $2 (plate B), $3 (plate C), $5 (plate D). 1838 or 18__ [P]

DUNDEE: Fox River Bank, "payable at J. A. Carpenter & Co., Provi-



Courtesy Chase-Manhattan Bank Museum of Moneys of the World, N.Y.

Ottawa (La Salle County): Wm. H. W. Cushman, 10c scrip, 1862.



Rockford: Wood & Co., Merchants, 3c scrip, 1861.

Pekin: The Illinois River Railroad Company, 10c scrip, 1862.

dence, R. I.," and signed by J. A. Carpenter, $2. 1852 [o]

DUNTON (*now* Arlington Heights): J. M. Olmstead, 50c. (scrip)

EAST ST. LOUIS: Illinois River Packet Co., 10c. (scrip) [x]
City Treasurer Warrant, $1, $2 — 1876; $1, $2, $5 — 1878. [y]

EDWARDSVILLE: Bank of Edwardsville, post notes, with amounts written in. *ca.* 1818 [r]
Bank of Edwardsville, 25c, 50c — [x]; $1, $2, $3, $5, $10, $20 — [r]. 1818 to 1821 or 18__

ELGIN: Elgin Bank of D. O. Clark & Co., $1, $2. 1852 or 18__ [o]
Bank of Elgin, $1, $2, $5
Home Bank, $1, $2

ELIZABETHTOWN: Columbian Bank, $2, $3, $5. 1857 [5]
Shawanese Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5. 1860 [e]
Bank of Trenton, $3. 1860 [f]

EL PASO: Van Vleet & Bois, 50c. (scrip)

EQUALITY: The National Bank, $1, $3, $5. 1853 to 1860 [o]
Illinois State Security Bank, $5, $10. [e]

FAIRFIELD: Corn Exchange Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5. 1859 [oo]
Reaper's Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5

FREEPORT: Thomas Long, on Stephenson County Bank, 5c, 10c, 15c, 50c. [x]
Wm. P. Malbum, on Farmers Bank, 5c, 5c (diff.), 25c, 25c (diff.), 50c. (scrip) undated, *ca.* 1862
Brewster House, 5c. (scrip) 1862 [x]
Jos. Louchheim, 25c, 50c. (scrip) [x]

GALATIA: Bank of Galatea [*sic*], $5, $10
Bank of Indemnity, $5, $10

GALENA: Bank of Galena, $1, $2, $3, $5. 1856 [o]

GALESBURG: Sydney Myers & Co., Bankers, $2. 1861
Reed's Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5
H. A. Watkins & Bro., 10c, 25c, 50c, $1. (scrip, full size) 1864 [ee]

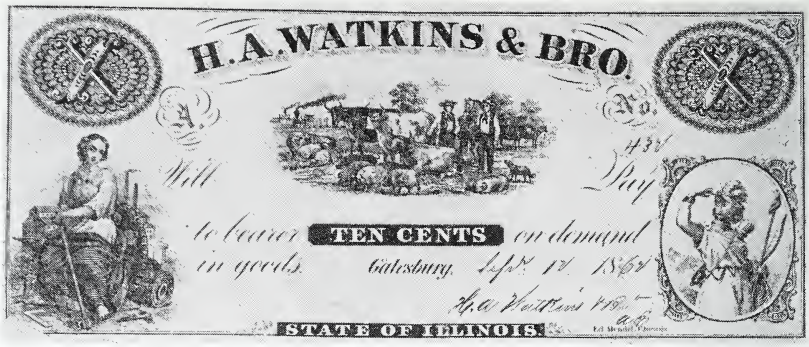
GENESEO: Bank of Geneseo, $5. 1860 [ff]

GENEVA: Kane County Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5

GOLCONDA: Bank of Ashland, $1, $3, $5. 1860 [f]
Metropolitan Bank, $2, $5. 1860 [f]
Ohio River Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10, $20. 1860
Hodge & Carr, 5c. (scrip, "Issued under the law of Necessity") 1862 [x]

GRAFTON MILLS: Grafton Manufacturing Co., 10c. 1862 [x]

GRANDVILLE (*now* Yale): Continental Bank, $2 — 18__ [f]; $5, $10 — 1858 [h]

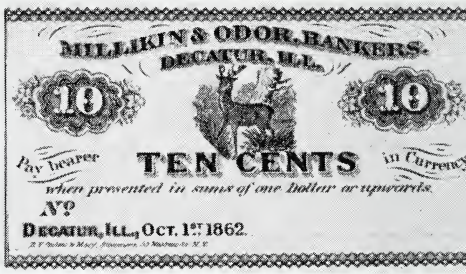


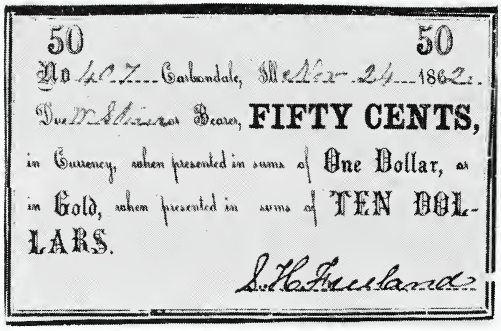
Courtesy PhilaMatic Center, Boys Town, Neb.

Galesburg: H. A. Watkins & Bro., 10c scrip, 1862.

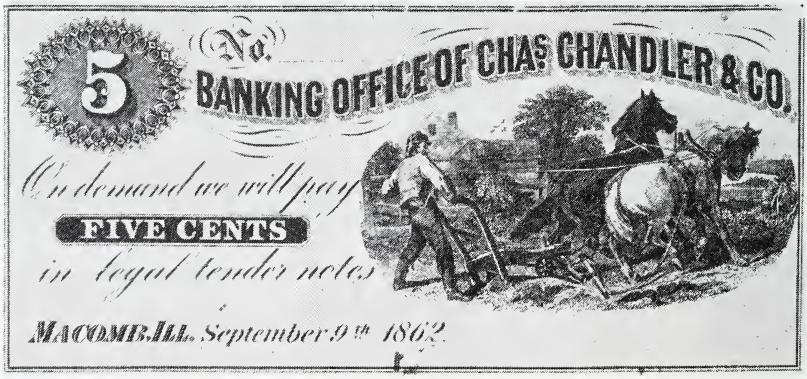
Courtesy Chase-Manhattan Bank Museum of Moneys of the World, N.Y.

Millikin & Odor, Bankers, Decatur, 10c, 1862 (right).





S. H. Freeland of Carbo dale, 50c scrip, 1862. (left



The Macomb Banking Office of Chas. Chandler & Co., 5c, 1862.

GRAYVILLE: Grayville Bank, $1, $2, $5, $10. 1858 or 1859 [V and E]
Southern Bank of Illinois, $1, $2, $5 — 18__ [O]; $5 — 1857 [E]; $10 — 1857

GREENUP: Cumberland County Bank, $2, $5

GREENVILLE: Franklin Bank, $3, $5. 1860 or 18__ [E]
Bond County Bank, $5. 1860 [E]

GRIGGSVILLE: Pamet Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5. 18__ [E]
Bank of Pike County, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10. 1859 [J]
Treasury Bank, $2, $3. 1860 [F]

HAMPSHIRE: S. C. Rowell, 50c. (scrip) undated, *ca.* 1875-1880 [X]

HANOVER: H. A. Hallermann, 5c, 25c, 50c. (scrip) 1862 [MM]
P. Lampen & Co., $1. (scrip)

HARDIN: Illinois River Bank, $1, $2, $3. 1860 [E]
Mechanics Bank of Hardin, $1 (plate A), $2 (Plate A), $3 (plate A), $5 (plate A). [E]

HARRISBURG: Lake Michigan Bank, $5, $10. 1859 [E]

HUTSONVILLE: Bank of Hutsonville, $1, $2, $5. 1855 [J]
Garden State Bank, $1, $2, $2 (diff.), $5

JACKSON (*location unknown*): Bank of Illinois, $1, $2, $3. 1835 to 1837 [Z]
State Bank of Illinois, Branch Bank, $5. 1837 or 18__
Illinois Exporting, Mining and Manufacturing Company of Jackson, $1, $2, $3 — [Z]; $5, $10 — [GG and HH]. (scrip) 1837 or 18__

JACKSONVILLE: Morgan County Bank, $1, $2, $5, $10. 1856 [SS]

JERSEYVILLE: Jerseyville County Bank, $2. 1860 [E]

JOLIET: Merchants & Drovers Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5. 1853 [S]
Joliet City Bank, 5c
Oswego & Indiana Plank Road Co., $1, $2, $3, $5. (scrip) 1852
Albert Day & Co., $3. (advertising note)

JONESBORO: Union County Bank, $5, $10

KANKAKEE CITY (*now* Kankakee): Kankakee Bank, $1, $2
I. N. Dickson, 10c, 25c. (scrip) 1862 [UU]
Treasurer, Town of Kankakee City, 25c. (scrip) 1862
Minchrod & Eppstein, Clothing, 5c. 1862 [X]

KASKASKIA: Bank of Cairo at Kaskaskia, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10 — 1839 [Q]; $1, $2, $3, $5 (with "State of Illinois" in large letters), $5 (with "State of Illinois" in small letters) — 1840 or Jan. 1841 [Q and I]; $3 — 1841

KEWANEE: Bank of Kewanee, $1, $2, $5
Grocery Exchange Bank, $3. (advertising note, $3.00 payable "on demand in groceries") 1860

LACON: Marshall County Bank, $1, $5. 1860 [F]

LANCASTER: Bank of Lancaster, $5, $10

LA SALLE: The La Salle Bank, $2

Illinois & Rock River Railroad Company, $1, $2, $3, $5. (scrip) 1841 or 18__ [G]

LOCKPORT: State Bank of Illinois, Illinois & Michigan Canal Fund, with plain reverses, $1 (plates A, B, C & D), $2.50 (plates A & B), $5 (plates A & B), $10 (plates A & B), $20 (plate A), $50 (plate A), $100 (plate A). 1840 to 1846 or 18__ [R]

State Bank of Illinois, Illinois & Michigan Canal Fund, with printed reverses, $1 (plates A, B, C & D), $2.50 (plates A & B), $5 (plates A & B), $10 (plates A & B), $20 (plate A), $50 (plate A), $100 (plate A). 1840 to 1846 or 18__ [R]

Canal indebtedness scrip, $1 (plates A, B, C & D), $2.50 (plates A & B), $5 (plates A & B), $10 (plates A & B), $20 (plate A), $50 (plate A) — all 1842; $100 (plates A & B dated July or August, 1842; plates C & D dated March 1, 1844). [X]

This issue was printed on reverses of above Illinois & Michigan Canal Fund scrip, with each denomination and plate letter identical to that of note on obverse, except for the $100 notes, which were usually printed on reverses of the $1.00 denomination.

State Bank of Illinois, "pay to the order of David Prickett, Treasurer of the Illinois and Michigan Canal" (with interest at the rate of 6 per cent), $1, $2, $3, $5, $100, $150 (printed "$100" with the "and fifty" written in). March 1, 1840 [KK]

H. Norton, 12½c, 25c, 50c. (scrip) 184__

Norton & Co., 5c, 10c, 25c. (scrip, approximate size 1½" x 2") 1862 [VV]

Norton & Co., 5c, 10c, 25c. (scrip, approximate size 3" x 6") 1862 [VV]

LOUISVILLE: Bank of Louisville, $3. [F]

MCLEANSBORO: Hamilton County Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5. 18__ [BB]

E. I. Tinkham & Co. Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10, $20. 1859 [M]

Bank of the Republic, $1, $2, $3, $5. 1859 [S]

Hampden Bank, $1. 18__ [E]

Producers Bank, $1, $2. 1860 [F]

MACOMB: Charles Chandler & Company Banking Office, 5c. 1862 [PP]

Banking Office of Chas. Chandler & Co., 5c. 1862 [X]

MARION: Hermitage Bank, $3, $5. [F]

Mabaiwee Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5. [R]

Agricultural Bank, $1, $2, $2 (diff.), $5. 1859 (Any notes of this bank identical in design with notes of a Brownsville, Tenn., bank of the same name are altered.)

MARSHALL: Corn Planters Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5. 1860 or 18__ [E]

MATTOON: Mattoon Bank, amount blank. (certificate of deposit) 18__ [PP]

METROPOLIS: Farmers Bank of Illinois, $1, $3, $5, $10. 1860 [E]
Douglas Bank, $2, $3. 1860 [F]

MOMENCE: Bank of Momence, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10. 1860 [E]

MONMOUTH: Warren County Bank, $5

MORRIS: Grundy County Bank, $1, $5

MOUND CITY: Mound City (signature line blank), 5c, 10c, 25c, 50c. (scrip) 1863 [X]

MT. CARMEL: State Bank of Illinois, Branch Bank, $1, $3. 1841 [AA]
Citizens Bank, $1, $2, $5, $10
Bank of America, $2, $3, $5, $10, $20, $50, $100, $500. 1859 [E]

MT. VERNON: Bank of Mt. Vernon, $1, $2

NAPERVILLE: Bank of Naperville, $1, $2. 1854 [O]
Humboldt Bank, $1, $3. 1860 [E]
DuPage County Bank, $1, $3, $5, $10

NAUVOO: Nauvoo House Assn. (Mormon issue), $50 — 1841 [FZ]; $50, $100 — 18__ [W]

NEW CANTON: Farmers Bank, $5, $10

NEW HAVEN: Bank of Illinois, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10. 1860 [J]
Commercial Bank, $2, $3, $5. 18__ [E]
Illinois State Bank, $5, $10

NEW MARKET (probably Sangamon, now Menard, County): New Market Bank, $5, $10
Bank of the Metropolis, $5, $10. 18__ [E]

NEWTON: Illinois Central Bank, $1, $2, $10, $10 (diff.), $20. 1859 [E]
Eastern Bank of Illinois, $1, $2. 1860 [F]

OTTAWA: City Bank, $1, $5
Bank of Ottawa, 10c, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10. 1862 [VV]
Wm. H. W. Cushman, 10c, 50c. (scrip) 1862

OXFORD (*location unknown*): Mississippi River Bank, $1, $2, $5, $10. 1859 [SS]

PALESTINE: Commercial Bank, $1, $2, $5, $10

PARIS: Edgar County Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5

PEKIN: Illinois River Railroad Co., 10c, 25c. (scrip) 1862 [EE]
Illinois & Rock River R. R., 25c. (scrip) 1862
Commercial Bank of Millington, State of Maryland, "payable at Tazwell [*sic*] County Commercial & Fire Insurance Co., Pekin, Ill.," $5. 1846

PENN YAN (*location unknown*): City Bank, $1

PEORIA: Farmers & Merchants Exchange Co. of Peoria, $3, $20. 18__ [B]
Central Bank, $1, $3, $5
Farmers Bank, $5
M. P. Stone & Co., 10c. (scrip) 1862 [A]
The Merchants Association, 5c. (scrip) 1862 [X]
C. S. Matteson & Co., 25c. (scrip) 1862 [X]
L. Howell & Co., 5c, 10c. (scrip) 1862 [JJ]
L. Howell & Co., 10c, 25c. (scrip, same as above but with "Cutler & Lindsay Grocery" imprinted vertically at left) 1862 [JJ]

PERU: Bank of Peru, 5c, $1, $2, $3
Illinois River Bank of Taylor and Coffin, $1
Salisbury Plank Road Co., $1. (scrip)
T. D. Brewster, 5c. (scrip) 1862

PITTSFIELD: Pittsfield Bank, $1, $2, $5, $5 (diff.)
Highland Bank, $5, $10

PRAIRIE CITY: Graziers Bank, $5

QUINCY: Bank of Quincy, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10, $20. [BB]
Quincy City Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10, $10 (diff.), $20, $20 (diff.)
Farmers & Merchants Exchange Co., $1, $2, $3. 1851 or 1852 [B]
Farmers & Merchants Bank, $2. 1852 [EZ]
Quincy Savings Bank, 5c. [X]
Bruckman & Andrews, $10. (scrip) [TT]
Eagle Mill, 10c. (scrip) 1862 [X]
L. & C. H. Bull, 5c. (scrip) 1862 [EE]
Page and Bacon, $1, $2, $5

RALEIGH: American Exchange Bank, $5, $10
Bank of Raleigh, $5, $10
International Bank, $5, $10

ROBINSON: Bank of the Commonwealth, $5, $10. 1856 [CC and DD]

ROCHELLE: Guest & Lake, $3. (advertising note)

ROCKFORD: Wood & Co., Merchants, 2c, 3c. (scrip) 1861 [X]

ROCK ISLAND: Rock Island Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5 — 1852 [H]; and $1, $2, $3, $5 — 1852 (diff. issue)
Bank of the Federal Union, $1, $5. 1854 [E and V]

ROCK RUN (La Salle County): George W. Howe, 6¼c, 25c, 50c (scrip); 12½c, 25c (scrip, payable in canal scrip). 1840 [X]

RUSHVILLE: Rushville Bank, $2, $3, $5, $10

ST. JOHNS (Perry County): State Stock Bank, $1, $5

ST. MARIES (*location unknown*): Bull's Head Bank, $5, $10. 1858 or 1859 [E]

SAVANNAH: Western Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10, $20

SCHAWANCETOWN (probably Shawneetown misspelled): Bank of Illinois, $1, $2, $3, $5, $5 (diff.), $20, $100. 1837 or 18__

SHAWNEETOWN: Bank of Illinois, $1 [XX]; $2, $3, $5, $10, $20 — 1818 or 18__ [WW]; also $1, $2, $3, $5, $10, $20, $20 (diff.) [YY]; $50, $100 — 1838 to 1840 [XX or ZZ]

Bank of Illinois at Shawneetown, also shows Smithland, Kentucky, "payable in Illinois or Kentucky banknotes," 12½c. 18__

Bank of Shawneetown, $1, $20. 1851

State Bank of Illinois, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10, $20. 1854 to 1858 [O, BB or YY]

SHELBURN (*now* Amboy): Shelburn Mfg. Co., 15c. (scrip) 1861

SHOAL CREEK: Shoal Creek Toll Bridge, "redeemable at J. H. Lambert's Store in Carlyle," 25c. Feb. 14, 1820

SPARTA: Bank of Sparta, $1, $2, $3. 1860 [F]

United States Stock Bank, $1, $2, $3. 1860 [F]

SPRINGFIELD: Mechanics & Farmers Bank, $1 — 1853 or 1854, $2 — 1862. [M]

Clark's Exchange Bank, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10, $20

American Exchange Bank, $1. 1854 [X]

N. H. Ridgely & Co., Bankers, 5c [X], 10c, [QQ]. 1862

Internal Improvement Office, $1, $2, $3, $5, $10. 1840 [U]
Plate letters issued thusly: $1 (A), $2 (A), $3 (A), $5 (A); and also: $1 (B), $2 (B), $5 (B); $10 (A) is printed on two different plates.

Office of the Board of Public Works, Fund Commissioner of the State of Illinois, $2, $3, $5, $10, $50 (amount written in), $100. 1839 or 1840 [U]

State Bank of Illinois, $10, $15, $50. (certificates of indebtedness) Feb. 10, 1843 [U]

State Bank of Illinois, (parent bank), $1, $1 (diff.), $2.50, $5, $10, $20, $100. 1835 to 1839 [S]

State Bank of Illinois, "payable at branch bank, Springfield," $1, $5 (plates A & B), $10 (plates A & B), $20 (plates A & B), $50 (plate A), $100 (plate A). 1843 or 18__ [R]

State Bank of Illinois, "payable at Phenix bank in New York," $1, $5 (plates A & B), $10 (plates A & B), $20 (plates A & B), $50 (plate A), $100 (plate A). 1843 or 18__ [R]
This issue and the preceding one are identical except for place of redemption.

State of Illinois, $100 (written-in amount). (certificate of indebtedness "on account of damages sustained_____

in being deprived of contract_____on the Illinois & Michigan Canal." Signed by Thomas Ford, Governor of Illinois) Feb. 14, 1844 [X]

SULLIVAN: Alisana Bank, $2, $3. 1860 [F]
Kaskaskia Bank, $1, $2, $5. 1860 [F]

SYCAMORE: The Sycamore Bank, $1, $5

TAYLORVILLE: Plowmans Bank, $2, $3. 1860 [F]

THEBES: Eagle Bank of Illinois, $1, $2, $3, $5. 18__ [E]
Canal Bank, $3, $5. 1860 [F]

TOULON: Toulon Bank, $2, $3. 1860 [F]

TRENTON: David Beardsley & Co., 5c. (scrip) 1862

URBANA: Grand Prairie Bank, $1, $2, $5, $10

VANDALIA: State Bank of Illinois (the first state bank), $1, $2, $3, $5, $10, $20. 1821

VERMONT: Fulton Bank, $3, $5

VIENNA: American Bank, $5. 1859 [E]
Bank of Commerce, $5, $10. 1860
Narragansett Bank, $2, $3, $5, $10

VIRGINIA: County of Cass, $1. 18__ [RR]

WASHINGTON: Prairie State Bank, $1, $3, $5, $10. 1858
B. P. Kelly, 50c. (scrip) 1862

WATUGA (*now* Wataga): Watuga Cash Store, 5c, 10c, 25c, 50c. 186__ [EE]

WAUKEGAN: Bank of Northern Illinois, $1, $2. 1852 [O]

WEST AURORA: Bank of Aurora, $1, $2, $3, $5. 1856 [L]

WOODSTOCK: Woodstock Bank, 10c

PLACE OF ISSUE UNKNOWN: C. M. Billman, 10c
Crooker & Hobbs, 10c
J. A. Huch, 25c
26th Reg. Illinois Volunteers, 25c. (sutler's scrip)

CLYDE S. KILBY

Three Antislavery Prisoners

A member of the Wheaton College faculty since 1935, Dr. Clyde S. Kilby is now chairman of the department of English. He is also president of the Conference on Christianity and Literature and served last year as national executive secretary of Lambda Iota Tau, honorary literature society. Dr. Kilby is the author of two books, Poetry and Life *(1953) and* Minority of One *(published this year and reviewed on pages 447-49).*

AN AURA of mystery has long surrounded the identity of James E. Burr whose inconspicuously marked grave is on the campus of Wheaton College. As the college prepared to celebrate its centennial in 1959, its historians determined to dispel that mystery, and, if possible, to learn why Burr had been buried on the college grounds. Several contradictory traditions persisted about Burr. One was that he was a Negro slave who died in Wheaton while en route to Canada on the Underground Railroad. Another was that he had been buried on the campus because he had offered his body for experimental purposes to the biology department. Still a third was that he had given the school a sum of money, because he believed in its antislavery stand, and had then asked for burial on the college grounds.

The first discovery made about Burr was that one period of his life — by far the most important one — was a matter of public written record. That was the period of his imprisonment in the Missouri State Penitentiary from 1841 to 1846, the story being told in vivid detail in George Thomp-

son's *Prison Life and Reflections.*[1] Thompson, Burr and a man named Alanson Work were arrested at gun point near Palmyra, Missouri, on July 12, 1841 while in the act of assisting some slaves to cross the Mississippi River into the free state of Illinois. For some time these men had been going to Palmyra and its neighborhood to preach to the slaves there. Before their arrest, they had arranged to meet two slaves on a given evening at a spot on the Missouri side and take them across by boat. Thompson, who acted as secretary of the three to tell their imprisonment story, wrote:

> On the day appointed we went, arriving at the place about the middle of the afternoon. Alanson and James went into the country to view and reconnoitre, while I remained in the skiff to fish, and await their return. . . . After dark, a number of slaves came to Alanson and James, in the prairie, and pretended they were going with them. They had proceeeded but a short distance, when on a sudden, the slave-holders arose out of the grass, with their rifles, and took them prisoners. . . .[2]

Thompson was also captured, and the three were taken to jail in Palmyra, where the town received them as common criminals.

In jail the men were chained together for weeks until the seating of the court. Feeling against them was so strong that at the time of their trial a scaffold was built outside the courthouse in the hope that the court would sentence them to hang. But they had sympathizers, too; in far-away Licking County, Ohio, where Thompson had once lived, a group

1. The full title is *Prison Life and Reflections: or, A Narrative of the Arrest, Trial, Conviction, Imprisonment, Treatment, Observations, Reflections, and Deliverance of Work, Burr, and Thompson, Who Suffered an Unjust and Cruel Imprisonment in Missouri Penitentiary, for Attempting to Aid Some Slaves to Liberty.* The first edition was published at Oberlin, Ohio, in 1847. The book was reissued at Hartford, Conn., in 1851 with A. Work listed as the publisher.

2. *Ibid.,* 14.

talked of going to Palmyra and forcibly removing the men from jail.[3]

When the trial actually got underway, the *Missouri Courier* called it "the most exciting . . . ever had in our court."[4] It was said that John M. Clemens, father of Mark Twain, was one of the jurors[5] who convicted the men on a charge of grand larceny. They were sentenced to twelve years in the penitentiary.

At the time of their arrest Thompson and Burr were both attending Mission Institute near Quincy, Illinois, and Work, a man of about forty with a wife and four children, was a resident of that town.[6] The common attitude toward the Institute may be seen in the fact that the prisoners were sarcastically called "Dr. Nelson's satellites."[7] Dr. Nelson was the Rev. David Nelson, founder of the Institute and an incandescent emancipationist who had been driven out of Missouri because of his activities.[8] His school at Quincy was intended as the first of a series of similar schools that would finally accommodate as many as fifteen thousand students. The Institute, located in a wooded area near Quincy, was open to young men

who feel that they belong entirely to the Lord; who are willing to live in a plain manner, to wait upon themselves, to read industri-

3. *Ibid.*, 112.

4. *Narrative of Facts Respecting Alanson Work, James E. Burr & George Thompson, Prisoners in the Missouri Penitentiary, for the Alleged Crime of Negro Stealing,* prepared by a committee (Quincy, Ill., 1842); *Quincy Herald-Whig,* Centennial Number, Dec. 29, 1935.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Hazel C. Wolf, in *On Freedom's Altar* (Madison, Wis., 1952), 62-65, gives a good account of Thompson, Burr and Work but incorrectly states that Burr, rather than Work, was forty and married, and also that Work and Burr were pardoned in 1845, rather than 1846.

7. *Prison Life and Reflections,* 47.

8. William A. Richardson, "Dr. David Nelson and His Times," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XIII (Oct., 1920): 442-44.

ously, and who think it is a privilege to toil and to die in the service of their Captain.[9]

Students built their own cottages from trees which they felled, and they paid forty to fifty cents a week for food.

The first unit of the school was completed in 1838. Seven years later, after Nelson's death, Jonathan Blanchard, then pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati and later president of Knox College and Wheaton College, was offered the leadership of the Institute. The school was still small, the trustees wrote Blanchard, and they warned him:

> You will not surely entertain high expectations in regard to the appearance of the institution. We have no splendid edifices, no extensive library, no philosophical nor chemical apparatus, no rich endowments, no "fat salaries," and only a few devoted friends. The rich, the mighty, the honorable, with a few exceptions have not been found among our patrons.[10]

They encouraged Blanchard, however, by pointing out that two of the school's graduates were laboring as missionaries in New Zealand, two in Oregon, two in Canada among the "fugitives," two in Iowa among the Winnebago Indians and two "at a mission station in Missouri, vulgarly called 'The Penitentiary.'" The campus, about one mile and a half east of Quincy, consisted of "somewhat more than thirty cottages of various sizes and of rather homely exterior, with a few shops, barns, &c. and a neat little chapel."[11] Blanchard visited the school that spring and gave the commencement address but concluded to accept an offer made almost at the same time to become president of Knox College.[12]

9. David Nelson, *An Appeal to the Church in Behalf of a Dying Race, from the Mission Institute, near Quincy, Illinois* (New York, 1838), 18-19.

10. Letter from William Beardsley, March 24, 1845, Wheaton College Archives.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Clyde S. Kilby, *Minority of One* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1959),

For several years Quincy had been something of a storm center of the slavery controversy. As early as 1830 the Underground Railroad was in operation there,[13] and by 1836 or 1837 both the antislavery press of the town and Dr. Nelson were forcing people to choose sides.[14] Mission Institute was viewed generally by Quincy citizens much as Lane Seminary in Cincinnati had been viewed by the residents of that town at the time of the famous difficulty between the abolitionist Dwight Weld and Lane's trustees. Disavowing Weld's principles, the trustees described the attitude of the townspeople:

> Many of our best citizens were looking upon the Seminary as a nuisance, more to be dreaded than cholera or plague. The spirit of insubordination, resistance to law, and of civil commotion which they regarded it as fostering was deprecated in a tone to make one shudder.[15]

Mission Institute differed from Lane in that its trustees, as well as its students and teachers, were unreservedly antislavery in attitude. As a consequence, there was little local sympathy for the school, and no one attempted to retaliate when a group of men from Marion County, Missouri, crossed to Quincy one winter night while the Mississippi was frozen over, marched silently to the main building, and burned it to the ground.[16]

95-97. On April 17, 1845 Blanchard wrote from Quincy to the *Morning Herald* in Cincinnati describing Mission Institute. The four original schools, he said, had become two and were soon to be united into a single institution. He was delighted to discover that the students there were getting a liberal education. They could, for instance, read Homer and Sophocles in the Greek "with a fluency and ease, certainly unsurpassed, if equalled even by the average of our college classes."

13. *Quincy Herald-Whig,* Centennial Number, Dec. 29, 1935.

14. David F. Wilcox, ed., *Quincy and Adams County, Illinois* (Chicago and New York, 1919), I: 452.

15. Constance M. Rourke, *Trumpets of Jubilee* (New York, 1927), 59.

16. Mission Institute was burned on the night of March 8, 1843; *see* Henry Asbury, *Reminiscences of Quincy, Illinois* (Quincy, 1882), 74; Richardson, "Dr. David Nelson," 452.

By 1845, the Missouri penitentiary had indeed become a mission station for the three Quincy prisoners. They had already earned a reputation of harmlessness before being taken from Palmyra to Jefferson City. In the Palmyra jail they had sung hymns, read their Bibles and other good books (including *The Book of Martyrs*), and had held their own religious services in spite of interruptions from guards overhead who thumped and danced in an attempt to break up the meetings.[17] Strict Sabbatarians, the prisoners tried to resist traveling from Palmyra to the penitentiary in Jefferson City on Sunday, and Alanson Work was once whipped for his refusal to be shaved on the Sabbath,[18] but otherwise their conduct was exemplary. In fact, not only were their chains soon knocked off but they were given freedom to go abroad without a guard. The prisoners had insisted that they would not run away — that they had been officially sent to prison and would leave with official approval or not at all. The warden got into the habit of sending for them when any prisoner was near death, and eventually they were allowed to hold religious services for the prisoners. They even gained the confidence of both wardens and prisoners to such an extent that many of the latter were persuaded to sign temperance pledges.[19]

After three and a half years Alanson Work was pardoned. There had been many efforts by people as far away as Connecticut, his home state, to secure his release so that he could provide for his family. When his pardon came,[20] it carried the specific provision that he should return to the East rather than stay in a contiguous state, where he might create

17. *Prison Life and Reflections,* 24, 30.
18. *Ibid.,* 114, 162.
19. *Ibid.,* 175, 180, 218, 342.
20. *Ibid.,* 329.

further trouble for Missouri. About a year later James Burr was pardoned, while George Thompson remained in the penitentiary for nearly five years.

Wheaton's historians have sought to trace the whereabouts of these men — especially James E. Burr — before and after their incarceration. Thompson was born at Madison, New Jersey, in 1817, and was a pupil in the same school that John Brown had attended. In 1832 he went to Licking County, Ohio, moving to Oberlin three years later. After nine months in that place, he lived in Austinburg, Ohio, for about a year and a half before going to Mission Institute. In 1846 Thompson was married, and in 1848, under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, he went to the Mendi Mission in West Africa, where he took over the leadership with considerable success.[21] Two years later he returned to America for his wife and two children and shortly afterward was forced to come home again because of the serious illness of his wife. Meantime their eldest child had died in Africa. For some time Thompson lectured on the needs of Africa and led others to that land as missionaries.[22] He then returned to Africa, and after another three-year period of service, during which he had left his family in America, he was forced home by the condition of his own health. He brought at least two young African natives to America and educated them. One became a lawyer in Pensacola, Florida, and the other a minister in Mississippi.[23]

21. C. P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa* (London, 1954), I: 66.

22. *E.g.*, in a letter written to Jonathan Blanchard from Burlington, Ia., on Feb. 23, 1853, we learn that D. W. Burton and wife went to the Mendi Mission as a result of a visit to Burlington by Thompson. Letter in Wheaton College Archives.

23. I take it that one of these was Thomas D. Tucker, educated at Oberlin College. See Robert S. Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College* (Oberlin, 1943), II: 911.

For twenty-five years Thompson labored as a home missionary in northern Michigan before returning to Oberlin. He died in 1893. In addition to the account of his prison experiences, Thompson wrote several other books.[24]

Alanson Work was born in Middletown, Connecticut, in the late 1790's, and married Amelia A. Forbes in Middletown on August 3, 1825.[25] As stated above, his pardon required him to return to his native state, and he apparently did so, for in 1849 and 1851 he published editions of Thompson's book at Hartford. He died in the summer of 1879.[26] Little else is known of him except that he was a mechanic.

James E. Burr was born in New York state, probably in the vicinity of Cuba, in 1814. He went from Cuba to enroll in the preparatory department of Oberlin College in 1834 and remained there a year, after which he went to Mission Institute and thence to the penitentiary. He was a carpenter by trade. After his pardon he returned to Quincy.[27] In 1849 he sold for $175 a quarter acre of land which he had purchased in 1841 for $25.[28] By 1849 Burr was a member of the Congregational Church in Princeton, Illinois,[29] and

24. This account of Thompson's life is taken from the *Christian Cynosure* for May 27, 1886. It was written by H. H. Hinman, who had himself followed Thompson to the Mendi Mission and kept in touch with him thereafter. Other books by Thompson are *The Prison Bard* (Hartford, Conn., 1848), *Thompson in Africa* (2d ed., New York, 1852), *Letters to Sabbath School Children on Africa* (3 vols., Cincinnati, 1855), *The Palm Land* (3d ed., Cincinnati, 1859) and *Africa in a Nutshell* (Oberlin, Ohio, 1881).

25. Letter of March 23, 1959, from Edith B. Grant, Godfrey Memorial Library, Middletown, Conn.

26. *Christian Cynosure,* Aug. 7, 1879.

27. In a letter to the *Western Citizen* (Chicago) he described how he hastened back across the Mississippi to see his "warm hearted brethren and sisters" and the "consecrated spot" on which Mission Institute stood. *Signal of Liberty* (Ann Arbor, Mich.), March 16, 1846.

28. County records at Quincy, Illinois.

29. Burr became a trustee of the church in 1850. Mrs. Burr apparently did not join this church until 1862 or 1866; the record shows two Mrs. Mary Ann Burrs as new members; one was doubtless the wife of William H. Burr,

apparently he lived in that place for the rest of his life. Some time between 1846 and 1850 he married Mary Ann Munroe, who had two children by a previous marriage, Charles H., 13, and Mary A., 11.[30] While he was in prison, Burr had suffered a serious accident; his right hand had been caught in the roller of a machine which mangled his arm halfway to the elbow; he had also been critically ill on two different occasions.[31] It was probably as a result of the hard prison life that he contracted consumption, of which he died on April 26, 1859.[32]

An interesting coincidence is the fact that the newspaper which announced "with sorrow and regret" the passing of "estimable citizen" James E. Burr, carried on the opposite page the following diatribe against Oberlin College:

> Perhaps there are a few places in our country where political fanaticism exists to a greater degree than at Oberlin. Abolition to the core, its people had the idea that they could trample upon the law with impunity. They were ever ready to assist fugitives in escaping from their masters, and willing to induce them to do so. A fugitive slave case occurred there a short time ago, and a number of them undertook to prevent the rescue, and obstruct the law of the United States. They were arrested; their trial held, and are now confined in the Cleveland jail. They have refused to pay their fine and are still in prison. An attempt was made to have them taken out of jail by virtue of a writ of habeas corpus, but the application was refused by the Supreme Court, and the fanaticism of the Oberlinites has met a thorough rebuke.[33]

an emigrant from Connecticut. Burr's stepchildren, at least the son, remained in Princeton, according to the census records, and reared a family there. He worked as a stonecutter. For church memberships see E. S. Phelps, *History of the Colony Congregational Church* (Princeton, 1931).

30. Census records for 1850.

31. *Prison Life and Reflections,* 227, 241, 267.

32. After his release from the penitentiary Burr blamed the lessee system for the poor food and clothing provided and also for the fact that prisoners were required to work from daylight until dark. *Signal of Liberty,* May 11, 1846.

33. *Bureau County Democrat* (Princeton), May 4, 1859.

Did the editor not know that the deceased "estimable citizen" of Princeton was both an Oberlinite and a "fanatic" in the abolitionist cause?

James E. Burr seems to have managed his financial affairs well, for his estate was valued at $4,000. In his will, made two months before his death, he left half his property to his wife; $300 of the other half was to go to Illinois Institute, and the remainder was to be divided equally between the American Missionary Association and the American Reform Book and Tract Society in Cincinnati.[34] The bequest to Illinois Institute (later Wheaton College) confirms the tradition that Burr was buried by his special request on the college grounds.[35] Illinois Institute had been founded by Wesleyan Methodists who were strongly antislavery; and Burr, like Thaddeus Stevens,[36] felt he did not want to lie in "unconsecrated" ground. John Cross, the first teacher at Illinois Institute, was probably known to Burr, if they were not actually friends, for Cross had also lived near Princeton, and had been the "general superintendent" of the Underground Railroad in that district. Cross did not hesitate to advertise his antislavery plans: One broadside he issued showed a bobtail horse pulling a Dearborn wagon at a fast pace while the driver leaned forward to apply the whip. The heads of two Negroes could be seen peeping out from underneath the seat.[37] Cross would have been a man after Burr's own heart.

34. The will was probated on May 31, 1859 at Princeton.

35. The tradition is confirmed by a direct statement in the *Christian Cynosure* for Aug. 7, 1879.

36. See Kilby, *Minority of One,* 173, for an account of how the dying Stevens, with tears running down his sunken cheeks, told Jonathan Blanchard of his efforts to locate a cemetery open to Negroes and whites alike where he could be buried.

37. N. Matson, *Reminiscences of Bureau County* (Princeton, Ill., 1872), 364-70.

The grave of James E. Burr on the campus of Wheaton College before the removal of the monument.

It is more likely, however, that Burr's donation to Illinois Institute and his burial on the campus were arranged by Jonathan Blanchard. We know that not later than April, 1859 Blanchard had been approached by Illinois Institute to become its president and that by November of that year he had assumed the post.[38] Blanchard was well acquainted in Princeton and had been offered a pastorate there in 1857.[39] Furthermore, one of the first men he appointed to the Institute's board of trustees was the distinguished Owen Lovejoy of Princeton, himself a radical abolitionist.[40] Both Lovejoy and Blanchard were also vice-presidents of the American Missionary Association, and Cross was an agent of that or-

38. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Nov. 23, 1859.

39. Kilby, *Minority of One,* 137.

40. See *Western Citizen* of Oct. 26, 1843 for an account of Lovejoy's trial in Bureau County on an indictment of harboring slaves.

ganization. Hence they undoubtedly knew each other well, and all or any one of them might have arranged Burr's burial, but a good guess would be that Blanchard was at least the prime mover. He was no mean strategist and doubtless saw the advantages that might accrue to Illinois Institute from having on its campus the body of an antislavery "martyr." Final arrangements for Burr's burial could have been made shortly before his death, for we know that on the day before he died, Blanchard was in Ottawa, Illinois, not far from Princeton.[41]

A large monument was erected at Burr's grave on the Wheaton campus, and it became customary for students at the college to decorate the grave each spring.[42] In 1928 the board of trustees, for reasons not clear, authorized President James Oliver Buswell to remove the body and monument to one of the cemeteries near Wheaton, but because of the objections of some of the older alumni no action was taken. The next year the board gave authority to the college treasurer to replace the monument with a suitable tablet.[43] It is said that the college girls whose dormitory is near the grave persuaded the president to remove the monument because they were afraid to pass by it at night. Today a small, inconspicuous stone lies flat on the grave.

In April of this year, the centennial of Burr's death, appropriate ceremonies were held at the grave. On that occasion this story was told so that henceforth Burr might be more than a mysterious figure from the past of Wheaton College.

41. Letter from Blanchard to his daughter Mary Avery, April 25, 1859, Wheaton College Archives.

42. *Christian Cynosure,* Feb. 20, 1879.

43. Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, Dec. 11, 1928 and May 30, 1929.

Family Histories

THE AUTUMN, 1957 issue of this *Journal* listed the names of those who had presented family histories to the Illinois State Historical Library during the preceding year. The Library wishes to thank the donors for gifts of the following genealogies received since the publication of that list:

Abbott. Willis W. Eisenhart, "The Abbott-Adlum-Green Families," from John A. Walls, Baltimore, Md.

Adlum. See Abbott.

Adsit. Newman Ward Adsit, "Descendants of John Adsit of Lyme, Connecticut," from New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, New York, N. Y.

Alexander. See Wolford.

Avery. Elroy McKendree Avery, "The Groton Avery Clan," from W. Guthrie Piersel, Springfield, Ill.

Ayer. Laura L. McDonald, "The Ayer Clan in Jacksonville, Illinois, 1830-1902," from the author, New York, N. Y.

Bacon. J. Dean Bacon, *Bacon and Allied Families: A Family Directory,* from the author, Pasadena, Calif.

Baker. J. Seaver, *The Baker Genealogy,* from Mrs. Louise B. Southwick, Waggoner, Ill.

Balch. Galusha B. Balch, *Genealogy of the Balch Families in America* (microcards), from Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, Illinois Chapter.

Baldwin. Charles Candee Baldwin, *The Baldwin Genealogy from 1550 to 1881* . . .; also, *The Baldwin Genealogy Supplement* . . . (microcards), from Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, Illinois Chapter.

Barnhart. Miles Goodwin Barnhart, "Barnhart Memoirs, Book I," from the author, Long Beach, Calif.

Bartlett. Thomas Edward Bartlett, *The Bartletts* . . . (microcards), from Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, Illinois Chapter.

Baumann. "History of the Baumann family from John Wendell Bauman, 1814, to Walter Thoele, Jr., 1952" (mimeo.), from Mrs. Marion Moore, Tolono, Ill.

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Beckwith. Paul Edmond Beckwith, *"The Beckwiths"* (microcards), from Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, Illinois Chapter.

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Lincolniana Notes

Commission Honors Thirteen Illinoisans

Thirteen Illinoisans are among eighty-five men and women who have been made Honorary Members of the national Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission. Their certificates of membership bear an inscription citing them for "unusual devotion and enduring contribution to the recollection of Abraham Lincoln, and to the principles for which he stood" superimposed on the official seal of the Commission.

The Illinoisans in the group are Frank J. Kinst of Berwyn; Paul M. Angle, Newton C. Farr, Ralph G. Newman, Dr. Charles W. Olsen and Alfred W. Stern of Chicago; Raymond N. Dooley of Lincoln; Philip D. Sang, River Forest; George W. Bunn, Jr., Mrs. Lucy L. Hay, Mrs. Marion D. Pratt and Clyde C. Walton of Springfield; and Mrs. Ruth Painter Randall of Urbana.

Those who were able to attend received their awards at a formal presentation dinner at the Cosmos Club in Washington, D.C., on June 27. Victor M. Birely, chairman of the honorary memberships committee, presided, and the principal speaker was United States Senator John Sherman Cooper, Commission Chairman. Also addressing the meeting was Mrs. Bertha C. Adkins, Under Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and chairman of the Commission's executive committee. Miss Adkins discussed the Commission's work during the year and commended the honorary members for keeping alive "the memory of one of the greatest men the world has ever produced. In honoring you," she said, "we do honor as well to his memory."

In addition to the resident Illinoisans honored, the group included a number of former Illinoisans and others well-known to readers of this *Journal*: Jay Monaghan and Allan Nevins, both now living in California; Roy P. Basler, Lloyd A. Dunlap and David C. Mearns of the District of Columbia; William E. Baringer of Florida;

Louis A. Warren of Indiana; Carl Sandburg of North Carolina; and Wayne C. Temple of Tennessee.

Replica of Lincoln Cabin Dedicated at Peoria

Ernest E. East, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society and also of the Peoria County Old Settlers' Association, delivered the principal address at the dedication on August 1 of a replica of Abraham Lincoln's log cabin birthplace erected in Glen Oak Park, Peoria.

The building is the successor to an earlier log cabin which had been used for years by the Old Settlers at their annual gatherings but which finally succumbed to termites. This first building, however, was not a replica of the Lincoln cabin. Construction work on the new cabin, which rests on a concrete foundation, was done by twenty-one union carpenters without pay. They completed their job only a few hours before the dedication.

The ceremony was the ninety-second consecutive annual meeting of the Peoria County Old Settlers. In his address, titled "Cabin Life in Pioneer Illinois," East commented on the appropriateness of patterning the cabin after Lincoln's birthplace in this Sesquicentennial year and told something of Peoria's log cabin courthouse. About two hundred members of the Old Settlers' Association attended the meeting, which was presided over by Raymond N. Brons, the current president.

A pamphlet program published for the occasion contains a Lincoln chronology, descriptions of Lincoln shrines, Civil War stories, reminiscences of earlier Old Settlers' picnics and a condensation of East's book, *Abraham Lincoln Sees Peoria.*

Petersen House Rehabilitated

The Petersen house in Washington, D.C., where President Lincoln died in the morning of April 15, 1865, has been completely rehabilitated, and was reopened as a national shrine on July 4.

Physicians attending Lincoln after he was shot at Ford's Theatre on the night of April 14 ordered him taken to the nearest house

since they feared that a carriage ride over Washington's cobblestoned streets might bring on a fatal hemorrhage. The President was carried across the street to the building owned by William Petersen, whose tailor shop was on the ground floor. Lincoln was taken to a small second-floor bedroom, which was then rented to William T. Clark, a clerk in the army quartermaster's department. Surrounded by physicians and members of his family and Cabinet, Lincoln died at 7:22 the next morning.

The United States government purchased the house in 1896 for $30,000 and spent some $40,000 on the extensive rehabilitation begun last December. The house has been restored as nearly as possible to its appearance in 1865. The project involved such structural changes as the removal of rooms added since the President's death.

Famous Sculptor Was Considering Lincoln Statue

At the time of his death on August 19, the American-born British sculptor, Sir Jacob Epstein, was considering a proposal that he do a statue of Lincoln to be erected near Monticello, Illinois, by the Piatt County Historical Society. The Society wanted Epstein's work to replace the recently dismantled monument at the site of a meeting between Lincoln and Douglas on July 29, 1858, when they were arranging the debates of that year.

Herbert Kaiser, president of the Piatt County Society, wrote Epstein in April, asking if he would be interested in the project. Epstein replied that he would consider it "thrilling . . . to do a statue of Lincoln," adding, "the conception, which will be my own, will owe its lines to what I know of Lincoln and his extraordinary life and what he means to the people of the United States."

Epstein was a native of New York but became a British citizen in 1910 and was knighted in 1954. Among his works are busts of such well-known men as Joseph Conrad, Albert Einstein, Dr. Ralph Vaughan Williams and Bertrand Russell. The University of Illinois owns his "Head of Wynne Godley."

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

John Messinger of St. Clair County was one of the prominent figures in early Illinois history. Surveyor, teacher, member of the state legislature and of the territorial and state constitutional conventions, Messinger was also, fortunately, a prolific and articulate correspondent. His great-great-granddaughter, Mrs. Ralph O. Stites of Belleville, has presented the Historical Library a collection of Messinger family papers, numbering approximately three hundred items. The papers contain letters dated as early as 1797, and form one of the Library's most extensive collections of manuscripts for the period 1797-1840. Also included are Civil War letters of Messinger's descendants and a family genealogy.

Among other new collections in the Historical Library are the papers of a pious but whimsical frontier churchman. He was Bishop Philander Chase, who in 1835 assumed jurisdiction of a newly formed Episcopal diocese which included churches in Jacksonville, Rushville, Peoria and Chicago. In 1836 the Bishop brought his family to Peoria County. There he erected a log cabin which he called "Robin's Nest" because "it was made of mud and sticks and [was] full of young ones." His piety is revealed in the naming of Jubilee College — an expression of his thankfulness and joy at being permitted to found a second college (he had established Kenyon College in Ohio in 1824) for the glory of God "more than five hundred miles still further toward the setting sun." Most of the nearly two thousand documents in this collection deal with Chase's early work in Illinois.

The controversies about General George Armstrong Custer which followed the annihilation of his command at the famed Battle of the Little Big Horn in the summer of 1876 continue to this day. Custer himself was apparently as contentious as his modern partisans, if judged by statements in the McQueen Collection, just acquired by the Library. General Alexander G. McQueen, who settled near Flora, Illinois, after the Civil War, had served during most of the war with the First Iowa Cavalry, which Custer charged with insubordination and mutiny. Copies of Custer's charge, as well as refutations by General McQueen and Captain H. L. Morrill are among the fifty items presented to the Li-

brary by Miss Dollie Hobbs of Louisville. Miss Hobbs is the sister of General McQueen's daughter-in-law.

Mrs. Elsie Strawn Armstrong, a pioneer of La Salle County, dictated her autobiography in 1860, when she was seventy-one years old, telling her story not in prose but in poetry. The Historical Library has recently been given the manuscript volume of that autobiography, which was written with quill pens in a ledger-like notebook. The poems served as the basis for a short biography, *Life of a Woman Pioneer,* published in 1931 by a grandson, James Elder Armstrong. The manuscript volume was the gift of Mrs. Florence Pearl Strawn Brenn, of Ottawa, Illinois, a descendant of Mrs. Armstrong.

The Historical Library's campaign to develop a comprehensive collection relating to Illinois agriculture has begun successfully with the acquisition of records and implements from the White Hall Chapter 1302 of the Patrons of Husbandry. A roll book, account book and several minute books, presented by Miss Mabel A. Griswold, combine to give a clear picture of the organization between 1874 and 1914. Miss Griswold's gift also included minutes of the Greene County Pomona Grange for the years 1883 to 1903. Plans are now being made for the acquisition of other state and local Grange records.

Files of the *Lewistown Republican Record* for the years 1901-1929 and 1934-1947 have been added to the Library's holdings of Fulton County newspapers. Previously, the Library had only scattered issues of Lewistown papers.

W. A. Challcombe, retired professor at Blackburn College, Carlinville, has permitted the Library to photostat an account book of Gideon Blackburn, Presbyterian minister and Indian missionary, whose purchase and resale of public lands provided the funds for the establishment of Blackburn College. His account book contains records of donations made in 1807 for the upkeep of the Cherokee Indian schools he was operating as well as of 1822-1832 collections for an educational society.

B. W.

Book Reviews

THE ENDURING LINCOLN
Edited by Norman A. Graebner. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1959. Pp. viii, 129. $3.00.)

LINCOLN'S SUPREME COURT
By David M. Silver. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1956. Pp. ix, 272. Paperbound, $2.00; clothbound, $4.00.)

Not the least of the satisfactions yielded by these two excellent books in the Lincoln field is that they bear the imprint of the University of Illinois Press. Illinois residents who were disturbed some years ago to see the Rutgers University Press publishing Lincoln works that might most appropriately have appeared in Illinois will take such books as these as an indication that in the future Lincoln's home state will not be less interested in publishing books on the Civil War President than a university press in New Jersey.

The first of the two titles preserves in book form the University of Illinois' observance of the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of Lincoln's birth. On two days — February 11 and 12, 1959 — four sesquicentennial lectures by qualified historians were delivered in Lincoln Hall, Urbana, under a plan whose purpose was "to separate from the vast Lincoln record those facets of his career which offer a perennial hope and an inescapable challenge to a troubled world."

The first essay, "Abraham Lincoln: An Immortal Sign," by Roy P. Basler, director of the Library of Congress Reference Department, provides a basis for the three other lectures in that it analyzes Lincoln's contribution to the democratic faith. Basler's long study of Lincoln (he completed his doctoral dissertation on "Lincoln in Literature" more than twenty-five years ago) leads him to a solid conclusion about Lincoln's concept of democracy.

It is that Lincoln "believed in democracy, not as an already proven principle, nor as a meaningless form of words incapable of proof, but as the most viable political proposition about human life which the human mind had been able to conceive in the long history of civilization."

The Basler view is that into the Lincoln concept of democracy there was distilled the best thought of two thousand years of European civilization, "striving to break the hold of tribal myth, to divest humanity of outworn social and political forms, and to create a polit-

ical-social pattern in which men might live together without being either ruler or subject, master or slave."

T. Harry Williams, one of the three other lecturers in the University of Illinois symposium and a professor of history at Louisiana State University, presents Lincoln as the "Pragmatic Democrat" — a leader whose inner political beliefs were grounded in principle and whose public utterances reflected his carefully arrived at opinion as to what was politically possible.

Thus Lincoln, after having opposed the abolitionists as too reckless, along with the slaveholders, eventually decided to issue the Emancipation Proclamation when it served a practical purpose of great value in the war itself. As Williams puts it:

> Lincoln's stand on slavery was always completely moral. Before the war he had opposed abolition because it would destroy the Union. During the war he used abolition to save the Union. He opposed the right change at the wrong time and supported the same change at the right time. His course is the supreme example in our history of the union of principle and pragmatism in politics.

David Donald, professor of history at Columbia University and formerly a student of the late James G. Randall at the University of Illinois, deals with the "Whig in the White House." Noting the variety of opinions as to the effectiveness of Lincoln's role in the presidency, Donald says that Lincoln, although he contended that "as our cause is new, so we must think anew, and act anew," still was never able to disenthrall himself from his own political education.

"It is ironical," Donald concludes, "that the Whig party, which had a sorry record of failure during its lifetime, should have achieved its greatest success, years after its official demise, in the presidency of Abraham Lincoln."

The fourth of the essays is by the editor of the book and the planner of the University of Illinois convocation, Norman A. Graebner, professor of history at the university at Urbana and one of those now bringing fresh credit and distinction to the history faculty graced in earlier times by such notable scholars and writers as James, Alvord, Greene and Larson, Craven, Pease, Olmsted and Lybyer, Randall, Jones, Robertson, Hansen, Dietz and others.

Graebner's thesis is that Lincoln was a "Conservative Statesman," handling situations as they were and not as he hoped they might be. He finds the Civil War President making an "immeasurable" contribution to the nation and considers it outstanding that he refused to allow "a crusading zeal to blur his goals or force him to accept obligations beyond the power which he wielded."

Lincoln was not unfriendly to the people of France and the victims of the Polish repression; he was merely guided by realism and common sense, Graebner reports. Lincoln, he writes, "doubted that the Republic could bring genuine freedom to all its own citizens, much less to . . . Europe."

Graebner's final comment is that "as a leader in wartime Lincoln demonstrated that limited goals are still compatible with democracy and total war; that force to achieve any good commensurate with its cost must be tempered with fairness, justice, and tolerance; and that war fought with reason can, if it must come, attain the fulfillment of decent and humane objectives."

After the four essays, some twenty-five pages are devoted to describing the Lincoln sesquicentennial exhibition of writings by and about Lincoln on display at the University of Illinois Library during February, 1959, "designed to show certain aspects of Lincoln's life and career which are worthy of study 150 years after his birth."

These included truly notable letters, documents and books, such as the famous letter to General Hooker and a copy of the Gettysburg Address. Of the fifty-nine items, three are placed in a special category of "books published in the present decade" that should be "read and reread" by those wishing "to become acquainted with 'The Enduring Lincoln.' "

These three books are Benjamin P. Thomas' one-volume biography of Lincoln, *The Living Lincoln* reconstructed from his own writings by Paul M. Angle and Earl Schenck Miers, and the one-volume editions of Carl Sandburg's *The Prairie Years* and *The War Years.* This section was prepared by Leslie W. Dunlap, formerly at the University of Illinois Library and now director of libraries, State University of Iowa.

The second title above treats an aspect of the Lincoln administration that has received relatively little attention — the reconstitution of the Supreme Court through five appointments to our highest bench and the work of these appointees in the Civil War.

The author, David M. Silver, also a student associate of James G. Randall, subsequently joined the history faculty at Butler University. Starting out with the "pattern of conflict" and a summary of Lincoln's "inherited court," Silver sees to it that his book concerns itself not only "with attempts by the Radicals to modify, pack or destroy the Supreme Court, but includes as well such diversified matters as the attitudes of the various members of the Court as the war opens, the politics behind the appointment of four Associate Justices and one Chief Justice, decisions of vital, war-related cases, examination of

the normal business of the wartime Court, proposals to lure aged Democratic Justices into retirement, the role of the Justices on circuit, the revamping of the Court under its Republican Chief Justice, Salmon P. Chase, and the absolution of its former Democratic head, Roger B. Taney."

There are splendid sketches of the other Lincoln appointees — Noah H. Swayne of Ohio, Samuel Freeman Miller of Iowa, David Davis of Illinois and Stephen J. Field of California — and admirable summaries of the historic wartime cases in which they participated.

When the reader puts this book down, it is quite clear to him that Lincoln received by inheritance a Supreme Court that was eastern and southern and passed on to his successor a highest bench largely western in viewpoint and outlook.

Here was an important change and David Silver tells us much about it most engagingly.

Irving Dilliard
Collinsville

MINORITY OF ONE: A BIOGRAPHY OF JONATHAN BLANCHARD

By Clyde S. Kilby. (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.: Grand Rapids, Mich., 1959. Pp. 252. $3.95.)

Appropriately, this biography of Jonathan Blanchard appears during the centennial of Wheaton College, which still bears many of the features with which Blanchard marked it during the strong and strenuous years of his presidency. Professor Clyde S. Kilby, chairman of the department of English at Wheaton, has written a lively account of the nonconforming career of an important personage in American educational, religious and social history, basing his narrative upon painstaking research in the archives of four colleges, records of several ecclesiastical bodies, the correspondence of several religious and political figures and the files of a number of contemporary periodicals. To this information, which might have remained only a summary of Blanchard's activities, Dr. Kilby has imaginatively added the insights into Blanchard's character that derive from his own writings, those published in his lifetime and — even more revealing — the private communications preserved in the memorabilia of his family. The letters to his children (who sometimes failed to live up to his severe expectations) are particularly helpful in understanding this man who often seems hardly believable according to the "personality" criteria of or own times.

Indeed, Dr. Kilby's best service to students of midwestern history is that his candid portrayal of a

baffling character is illumined by a sensitivity to, and an understanding of, personal qualities which to many may seem outdated in 1959. It is coincidental that another centennial occurs this year — that of the martyrdom of John Brown, of whom the best that can be said, that he was "a saintly fanatic," is little better than "dangerous fool." Blanchard, who openly preached and taught for a "martyr age," earned the same kind of epithet. Though his violence on moral issues was confined to verbal aggression, he too felt personally compelled to carry the charge of "sin" — be it slavery or what today would be called a "social problem" — direct to the sinner, be he in London, England or Virginia City, Montana, be he a bishop or Supreme Court judge, a college trustee or a congressman. Throughout his life the spirit of his preaching was characteristic of the main current of evangelistic Protestantism from the time of Charles G. Finney in the Great Revival of the 1820's to that of Dwight L. Moody half a century later. In this tradition of evangelism, personal regeneration was the foundation of social reconstruction toward the "perfect state of society," which preoccupied so much of Blanchard's thought and action.

Blanchard's labors as antislavery lecturer in the East, as teacher and minister in Ohio, as college president in Illinois, as agitator for unpopular causes throughout the country and as money-raiser reveal a man of great talent, even brilliance, and of tremendous energy. When he came to the presidency of Knox in 1845, he found the college in feeble condition. When he left thirteen years later, the school was flourishing but was also deeply disturbed by a sectarian controversy that had undoubtedly been aggravated by Blanchard's indisposition for the expedient compromise. Wheaton College, to which he then removed, though legally already in existence, was actually Blanchard's own creation, established and maintained through many years of hard times.

Blanchard lived to see many of his "causes" fulfilled, notably the cause of antislavery for which he had faced angry mobs as a youthful agitator. For one of the other "causes" which had also been espoused by the reformers of the 1830's, he remained during the last quarter of the nineteenth century almost the only great protagonist; this was the abolition of secret societies. For this principle he preached, lectured and organized to the end of his life. The means he employed were those which had been successful in making abolitionism a national issue that church and government could not ignore — lecturing, preaching, establishing a national press, agitating in denominational organizations and striving to organize a

political party. His fidelity in this crusade stamped him more and more as a radical and fanatic. He ran counter to the deep current of fraternalism (Sons of Temperance, Native Americans, Union League, Ku Klux Klan, Grangers, Knights of Labor) which was a part of so many of the social movements of the nineteenth century, and this opposition makes his biography a valuable contribution to a phenomenon in American history that has as yet been little studied and not fully understood.

Minority of One is a readable, scholarly contribution to Illinois history that should be read by anyone who wishes to appreciate the spirit as well as the events of the nineteenth century.

HERMANN R. MUELDER
Knox College

INDIAN VILLAGES OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY: HISTORIC TRIBES

By Wayne C. Temple. (Illinois State Museum, *Scientific Papers,* Vol. II, Pt. 2. Springfield, Ill., 1958. Pp. 218. $2.00.)

The companion volume to the portfolio of maps on Illinois Indian villages collected and reproduced some years ago by the Illinois State Museum under the direction of Sara Tucker, *Historic Tribes* is an attractive publication, in size and format similar to other recent issues of the Museum's series of scientific papers.

A study of the tribes which inhabited Illinois in the three centuries from the arrival of the French to the Indian Removal Act and the Black Hawk War has been needed for a long time. *Historic Tribes,* regrettably, does not fill that need, for it is hardly more than an undigested mass of notes taken mainly from source materials already in print and rather easily obtainable. Errors of fact, carelessness in the citing of references, and glaring omissions in the use of source materials are combined with a style of writing that is suitable only for note-taking. The result, confused and confusing, does no credit either to the author or to the Museum, and cannot be recommended to anyone.

In the main, *Historic Tribes* is a recital of dates, population figures, and notations of sites, sometimes exactly, sometimes inexactly, of permanent Indian villages. Such information, of course, is of value; it could have been better presented and in far fewer pages, by means of charts and tables; however the material is given, it must be presented critically, with some judgment as to the reliability of the figures. There is no evidence of any such critical judg-

ment anywhere in this volume. Admittedly, this is a pioneering volume and it was probably produced to meet a deadline that would prove a serious handicap to such a project. Future writers on the subject will, at least, have the advantage of knowing about some of the pitfalls.

It is stated in the introduction that "we usually see [the Indian residents of Illinois] as part of the conflict between France, England and Spain for possession of the Northern continent, . . . here the Indians are themselves the center of attention." *Historic Tribes* does indeed center all attention upon the movements of these peoples to the almost total exclusion of the white men who were so often the cause of tribal shifts. The story of the Illinois Indians within this period cannot be told, divorced, as it is here, from the story of the colonial conflict of the European nations; most especially it cannot be divorced from the story of the century and a half of rivalry between England and France for control of the interior of the North American continent, and, in the middle of the eighteenth century, from the story of the last decisive struggle for control of the fur-rich Ohio Valley.

It was, from the point of view of the Indians of the Ohio Valley-Great Lakes region, their misfortune that the fires of the Five Nations burned upon the pathway to the area where the beaver was to be found; the Iroquois saw their lives dependent upon their becoming the middlemen of the fur trade between all Indians and the traders of Montreal and Albany. It was likewise the misfortune of the Illinois to be close to the last good source of beaver, and to live in an area that became the keystone of the arch of empire envisioned by Frontenac and La Salle. Conceivably, it might be possible to write of the culture of the Illinois, the Sauk, Fox, Winnebago and others in this time without saying much about colonial rivalries, but even this would be difficult, because the moment one item of European manufacture — an iron pot or a musket — was introduced to a tribe, even though no one in the tribe may have yet seen a white man, the Indian life was profoundly affected. It is altogether impossible to present such materials as are in *Historic Tribes* apart from an understanding of the fur trade and colonial expansion.

The person who is looking for figures and dates may find them in *Historic Tribes,* though he should use them with caution and check them wherever possible against the sources, if the sources can be determined. Vague footnotes, such as "Memoir concerning the Illinois in 1732, copy in Ind. Hist. Soc. Lib." (page 43) are inexcusable in a scholarly work. Equally so is the citation

of "T. C. Pease and R. C. Werner, eds. *The French Foundations 1680-1693* (Springfield 1934)" on page 23 and elsewhere, and the citation in other footnotes of "Coll. Ill. State Hist. Lib., XXIII." Nowhere, either in these footnotes or in the bibliography, is there any indication that these volumes are one and the same. Other volumes of the *Collections* are treated in the same fashion. Charitably one might say this is but an unfortunate inconsistency in style. One can also be tempted to believe that such carelessness in something so easily verified may be an indication of equal carelessness in the treatment of more important matters within the body of the study. It appears strange, also, that with so many references to volumes of the *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* hardly more than a paragraph is devoted to the Miami during the decade of the 1740's when there is such a wealth of information concerning them in the volume by Pease and Jenison, *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War.* If the author had used that volume, he would also have avoided perpetuating the old confusion of the De Villiers who commanded at Fort de Chartres with the De Villiers who defeated George Washington at Fort Necessity (page 47).

On several occasions, as for example on page 42, "Canada" and "Louisiana" are introduced into the narrative with no apparent understanding of the eighteenth-century connotation of those terms: "Lieutenant de Villiers hastened there with his forces from Canada, and Lieutenant St. Ange from Fort Chartres in the Louisiana Country marched to close the trap." There is no explanation here, and, it must be confessed, by his usage here and elsewhere, there is no evidence that the author was aware that the province of Louisiana, after 1732, included Illinois at least as far as the mouth of the Missouri River; or that all of Illinois at the same time was considered for some purposes to be a part of the province of Quebec (or Canada). To speak of one officer "hastening" from Canada and another hastening from Louisiana when they were stationed less than three hundred miles apart, the one at Fort St. Joseph, the other at Fort de Chartres, is to be misleading and a trifle ridiculous.

On page 34 the author writes, "The Jesuit missionary Jacques Gravier left Chicago on September 8, 1700, and when he arrived at Lake Peoria, he discovered that the Kaskaskia were determined to leave the other Illini groups and settle in Louisiana." The mouth of the Ohio River, toward which they moved, and the tannery which Juchereau was establishing there, was later, much later, in the Louisiana country, but in 1700 there was no such province.

It will serve no good purpose to go into any more detail concerning the faults of *Historic Tribes.* A few questions will indicate the nature of some other criticisms:

Why are two separate accounts given — one in the chapter dealing with the Illiniwek, the other in the chapter on the Sauk and the Fox — of the Fox war of 1730? Substantially they are the same; minor variations in the narrative are not accounted for, and there is no reference in either case to the other account.

What useful purpose is gained by the paragraph-long enumeration of the names of Indian treaty signers, as for example on page 55, especially when such names are poor attempts at phonetic renderings?

What basis is there for the statement in footnote 167, page 42, that the "author has used Fay's account (of the location of the Fox fort) as being more accurate"? He is entitled to his opinion about Fay's account as against Brigham's, but in view of the paucity of exact reports, and the nature of the manuscript map of the Fox fort, such an opinion is no good without substantiation.

Why was no use made of the great bulk of French archives and English and American archives — the Gage papers, for example, photostats of which are in the Illinois Historical Survey at the University of Illinois? Why were they not at least cited in the bibliography as possible sources?

And, finally, why is no credit given to Mrs. Tucker for all of the work which she did on this volume before Dr. Temple took over?

NATALIA M. BELTING
University of Illinois

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND CUMBERLAND GAP
By David James Harkness. (*The University of Tennessee News Letter,* Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, April 1959. Pp. 31.)

A variety of topics is touched on in this useful bulletin: Lincoln and Tennessee, Lincoln in fiction, Lincoln in drama, Lincoln's taste in fiction, and Cumberland Gap in literature. The sections on the Lincoln theme in fiction and in drama are the most significant parts of the publication. While no claim is made that these sections are all-inclusive, they do present the most complete lists of Lincoln novels and plays the writer has seen. The section on the Cumberland Gap in literature — the longest in the book — contains a number of vivid descriptions of the gap, quoted from fictional accounts.

Lincoln students will find the first section, Lincoln and Tennessee, both informative and annoying — the latter because of slips the author has made. In the

first paragraph it is stated that "in 1784 his father [Thomas Lincoln] had passed through Cumberland Gap at the age of eight. . . ." The trouble here is that the family of "Captain Abraham" (including four-year-old Thomas) made the trip to Kentucky via the Wilderness Road in the spring of 1782. In the third paragraph the author has his Mordecai Lincolns confused. He quotes Abraham Lincoln on the subject of his Uncle Mordecai, his father's oldest brother, and proceeds to tell something of the career of the Mordecai who was his father's first cousin (a son of John Lincoln, Jr., who was a brother of Thomas' father, Abraham). This Mordecai Lincoln was born in 1788, while "Uncle Mordecai," a brother of Thomas, was born in 1771 and, unlike the younger Mordecai, never lived in Tennessee. About 1829, when he was in his late fifties, Uncle Mordecai moved from Kentucky to Hancock County, Illinois, where he died in December, 1830.

CHARLES H. COLEMAN
Eastern Illinois University

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES By Ray Allen Billington. (An Anvil Original No. 37. D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc.: Princeton, N. J., 1959. Pp. 191. $1.25.)

Professor Billington, author of the principal textbook in the field of western United States history, has placed us all in his debt with this excellent and inexpensive little book. It should be of great value to high school and college students, and it provides the easiest and cheapest way for members of the general public to join the fun of exploring the literature of the frontier.

After a page or two of explanation of the importance of the frontier hypothesis in understanding American history, the author gives us as clear and as enlivening an account of the history of the frontier as can be gotten into ninety pages. This account, short as it is, embodies the results of the scores of monographs which have shown the strengths and the limitations of Turner's theory that the frontier was the "master key" in interpreting our national development.

The second half of the book is devoted to twenty-seven selections from primary source materials. The first of these is Gabriel Arthur's account of his Virginia wilderness exploration in 1673. The last two present varied views of the "stampede" of settlers into Oklahoma in 1889. Authors of the selections include soldiers, fur trappers, foreign travelers and frontier farmers. They range from such well-known persons as Josiah Gregg, whose *Commerce of the Prairies* is a classic of western liter-

ature, and Bayard Taylor, most popular travel writer of his time, to Mary Holly, the pioneer Texas housewife who gave eyewitness testimony before the Senate committee investigating the "Chivington Massacre" (which Coloradans still prefer to refer to as the "Battle of Sand Creek"). All of the accounts present important material for an understanding of the advancing frontier, and all appear to have been chosen for the color and interest which will lure the reader into going further in the field.

The principal value of the book will probably be the numerous converts it will enlist in additional study of the West. To assist these people the author has supplied an excellent select bibliography.

In deciding which authors to include, an anthologist must make some hard decisions. In leaving out Francis Parkman and Mark Twain, Professor Billington no doubt believed that his readers could discover *The Oregon Trail* and *Roughing It* without his help. The only criticism this reviewer feels like making is to complain that most of the selections are much too short; they average only three and a half pages. But they are good samples, and we cannot expect to buy a fat and juicy anthology for $1.25.

George W. Adams
Southern Illinois University

FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM: THE HISTORY OF ANTISLAVERY ACTIVITIES OF MEN AND WOMEN ASSOCIATED WITH KNOX COLLEGE

By Hermann R. Muelder. (Columbia University Press: New York, 1959. Pp. x, 428. $6.50.)

Most historical writing on the antislavery movement published in the last twenty-five years has been written within the framework established by Gilbert H. Barnes in his *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (New York, 1933). According to Barnes, the impetus for the abolition movement came from the great religious revivals in western New York in the late 1820's. Barnes paid little attention in his account to other centers of antislavery activity or to other leaders than those of New York. The influence of Garrison, in particular, he minimized. *Fighters for Freedom* accepts the Barnes thesis completely. It may, indeed, be considered as a kind of extended supplement to Barnes's important work.

Professor Muelder shows that the Galesburg colony and Knox College were products of the New York revivals. George W. Gale, founder of the colony and college, had converted Charles G. Finney, who is generally credited with initiating the revivals. Gale's manual

labor school, Oneida Institute in New York, had provided training for many important abolitionists, including the great Theodore D. Weld himself. Most of the original settlers of Galesburg and most of the college faculty had been in some way associated with the New York revivalists and with those young men from western New York who were to become leading abolitionists. Thus the relationship between Knox College and that religious movement which Barnes called "the antislavery impulse" is established explicitly, and Knox takes its place with Lane Seminary and Oberlin College as a center of abolitionist thought and influence in the Old Northwest.

After establishing this point, Professor Muelder then explains how the revivalistic-reform spirit worked its way through the Galesburg colony until that spirit was dissipated as a result of certain complex ecclesiastical controversies in the 1850's. Although this is certainly not altogether new information, never before has it been presented with so much elaborate detail and documentation. This is the accomplishment of the book, and it is this which gives it importance for our knowledge of American intellectual history during the great reform movement of the last century.

So far so good. But it is perhaps human nature to carry a good thing too far, and the exceptions one may take to the Barnes thesis may also be taken to Professor Muelder's. Just as we know of too many other sources of antislavery thought and energy than western New York to find it possible to accept Barnes's views completely, so we find numerous important abolitionists in Illinois who refuse to be fitted into the Barnes-Muelder thesis. Antislavery Quakers, refugee antislavery southerners, New England emigrants who had learned their abolition from Garrison — few of these antislavery elements in Illinois, one discovers, attended Knox College or lived in Galesburg.

It thus becomes difficult to accept without some reservation Professor Muelder's apparent view that nearly all the antislavery activity and leadership in Illinois centered about Knox College and emanated from those connected with it. In understandable enthusiasm for his subject, the author has been inclined to overstate his case, and his attempt to associate all outstanding events and people with Knox seems at some points strained. For example, an entire chapter is devoted to the activities of the reformer Mary Brown Davis. Yet she did not attend Knox College (although some of her sons did), was not one of its founders, nor did she have any other obvious connection with it. Similarly, the founding of Grinnell and Tabor colleges is recounted. Yet the relationship of these events

to Knox is tangential in the extreme.

The close study presented in this book of the background and interrelationship of many of the Illinois abolitionists will be especially useful to those interested either in the minutiae of the antislavery movement or in Illinois local history.

The antislavery movement spread largely through personal and institutional influence. One way to study its development is by the "grass-roots approach," that is, by concentrating on the individuals who participated in antislavery activity. This is the method Muelder has used. The story he tells is the product of the piecing together of much scattered and elusive information about men and women generally regarded as obscure. Such intimate knowledge, not easily come by, is gained only from an extended acquaintance with the sources of Illinois social and religious history. Few books give so many facts about Illinois clergymen and reformers of the thirty years before the Civil War as *Fighters for Freedom.*

In short, as a study of the antislavery activities of those men and women in Illinois who were the product of the great revival in western New York, this book is a noteworthy achievement. When it attempts to find the focus of the Illinois antislavery movement in Knox College, it attempts somewhat more than it can prove.

MERTON L. DILLON
Texas Technological College

ALTGELD'S AMERICA: THE LINCOLN IDEAL VERSUS CHANGING REALITIES

By Ray Ginger. (Funk and Wagnalls: New York, 1958. Pp. 376. $4.95.)

Ray Ginger's *Altgeld's America* tells how certain leaders in Chicago tried to understand the meaning of the new industrialism that that city embodied at the end of the nineteenth century and how they tried to shape the life of the city to make it more humane and beautiful. The book's subtitle, "The Lincoln Ideal versus Changing Realities," emphasizes the author's thesis that the humanitarian aspects of Lincoln's "rural" ideal were retained while his individualism was abandoned. In the final section of the book, titled "Epilogue: From Altgeld to our Time," Ginger deplores the failure of the current generation of Americans to find a philosophy which will give it individual or social integrity and stability.

In *Altgeld's America* it is not John Peter Altgeld but the hustling metropolis of Chicago which looms on every page as the central personality of the story. Even among the individuals who

crowd the book Altgeld is not dominant. He is only one among the reformers and critics and builders who came to the city at the end of the nineteenth century. (Of course, nearly everyone who played any part in this story came to Chicago rather than being born there.) In addition to Altgeld the central figures are Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Eugene Debs, Clarence Darrow, Thorstein Veblen, John Dewey, Theodore Dreiser, Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, Theodore Thomas and Walter Fisher. It is their attempts to set up social services, end political corruption, improve the architecture, elevate the cultural life and explain the meaning of the new industrial Chicago that form the heart of Ginger's book.

Politics in Illinois and Chicago enters into the story infrequently and incidentally. There is no attempt to describe how Altgeld constructed and controlled a political machine in Illinois or to discuss his relationship with Chicago politics. The story of the Pullman strike and the resulting conflict between Cleveland and Altgeld is told, and there is a brief resumé of Altgeld's fight against conservative control of the Democratic Party in the campaign of 1896 and later. In this section Ginger presents Altgeld as the chief organizer of the western-southern coalition which defeated the eastern conservatives in 1896. I believe that the facts of the preconvention fight, the convention, and the campaign do not justify assigning such a role to Altgeld.

Ginger has not used any major new manuscript materials; and the book has no footnotes, though there are numerous quotations from manuscript sources. What the author intended — and he succeeds admirably — is to draw together the story of those who became concerned about the inhumanity and ugliness of industrial Chicago at the end of the nineteenth century. What might be called the philosophic part of the book — the effort to relate the story to the "Lincoln ideal" — is controversial and provocative. I would relate the "Lincoln ideal" to Lincoln the Whig politician, who served less the ideal of individualism and more the Whig ideal of government aid to business through protective tariffs, land grants, contract labor and central banking. Opposing this Whig-Republican ideal is a Democratic tradition, going back to Jefferson and Jackson, of government protection and aid for farmers, working men and small business. I think this latter tradition shaped the thinking of Altgeld and the others more definitely than did the "Lincoln ideal." In any case, Ginger and I would agree that the major impulse for the criticism and reform which he describes was found in the American tradition and not in imported philosophies.

American scholars are only beginning to ask the questions about the period between the Civil War and World War I which must be answered if we are intelligently to relate that period of history to our own day. *Altgeld's America* is an important contribution to that task.

STANLEY L. JONES
University of Illinois
Chicago Division

CATTLE KINGDOM IN THE OHIO VALLEY, 1783-1860

By Paul C. Henlein. (University of Kentucky Press: Lexington, 1959. Pp. 198. $6.50.)

Paul Henlein has written an interesting and much needed study of the cattle country in the Ohio Valley. The dates, 1783-1860, may cause readers to wonder how extensive his treatment will be. The preface sets the limits adhered to throughout the book. The first chapter reveals how cattlemen came to the valley in (1) the Kentucky blue grass region as early as the 1790's, (2) the Middle Scioto Valley in Ohio by 1830, (3) the Miami Valley in the same state, (4) land between Indianapolis and the Wabash Valley in Indiana and (5) the Sangamon Valley of Illinois during the 1830's. The fifth feeding region is somewhat outside the Ohio Valley proper. Descriptions of early settlements and of routes followed into Kentucky and Ohio are especially helpful. The author distinguishes carefully between range areas supplying cattle and the feeder areas mentioned above. Illinois readers may wish for more information on numbers of range cattle sent from the Sangamon Valley for feeding purposes to Ohio. Inasmuch as cattle were prepared in McLean County, Illinois, for the Chicago market in the 1840's, the development of the Chicago packing industry in the 1850's must have had considerable effect. The author refers to the importance of this lake city on pages 110-11 and 166.

Early breeding practices are included in Chapter II, while Chapter III deals with conditions in this cattle kingdom, 1834-1860. The author writes of relationships between corn production and cattle feeding as well as of those between price and demand for corn as related to feeding of cattle. The difficulty of deciding whether the Ohio Valley is more a beef cattle or hog empire is recognized. Breeding and importations of cattle, 1783-1860, as well as rich feed, produced improved animals, which influenced the American people to demand prime beef. The account of the importation of cattle between 1832 and 1857 provides interesting reading.

Of considerable value to this reviewer are Chapters V and VI

entitled "The Drive over the Mountains" and "Stockyards and Slaughterhouses." References to the existence of slaughterhouses in Pittsburgh and to the relative importance of the cattle and beef trade in Cincinnati are included. Exportation of cattle and beef to St. Louis and to New Orleans from the Ohio cattle kingdom as well as to eastern points amplify previous accounts. In all of the above chapters, isolated materials have been brought together within one comprehensive account.

Names of cattlemen Isaac Funk, B. F. Harris, Jacob Strawn and John Alexander will be of interest to Illinois readers despite the fact that the Sangamon area does not receive major emphasis. The author also recognizes a need for additional studies to co-ordinate those already completed in regions other than the Ohio Valley.

Author Henlein has made a contribution to the growing list of books on the general subject. Fortunately he had access to hitherto unexplored manuscript sources. Many of the individuals mentioned in his book could well become subjects for additional historical study.

HELEN M. CAVANAGH
Illinois State Normal University

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S RELIGION; SOURCES OF THE GREAT EMANCIPATOR'S RELIGIOUS INSPIRATION

By Dr. G. George Fox. (Exposition Press: New York, 1959. Pp. 120. $3.00.)

The religion of Abraham Lincoln is a subject that has fascinated students of the Emancipator's career since his tragic death. Dr. Fox has studied Lincoln's religious beliefs for many years. He is acquainted with what has been written on the subject — with all of the best. To students this book may not offer much that is new, but it is always interesting to read another's interpretation and evaluation of the available existing material.

At first Dr. Fox seems to lean rather heavily on reminiscences and recollections of persons who, many years later, recorded what Lincoln had said to them of God and religion. But the author always admits the nature of this kind of evidence as opposed to what Lincoln actually wrote or said on the subject. He also draws very heavily on *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953) and upon William E. Barton's *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln* (1920). Probably still the best book on Abraham Lincoln's religious views, Barton's volume would bear reprinting.

Dr. G. George Fox, of Chicago, is "a family counselor, a columnist on *The Sentinel*, a chaplain attached to the Illinois Youth Com-

mission, and the author of several previously published books . . . *Jesus, Pilate and Paul; Judaism, Christianity and the Modern Social Ideals; The Jewish Bible as Religion and Literature; Naziism and Democracy,* and *The Jews, Jesus and Christ.*"

Dr. Fox knows the Old and New Testaments and shows how the knowledge of this literature affected Lincoln's life. Lincoln's religion was one of growth — ever seeking to know and to do the will of God as he saw it. What greater religion is there than this?

Though never a member of any church, Lincoln was better acquainted with the Bible than most people of his time or ours. His religious beliefs probably most closely resembled what is now called Unitarian. Lincoln believed implicitly, according to Dr. Fox, "that God alone was the Father and righteous Ruler of the universe, who meted out punishment for sin, but pardon and forgiveness for repentence and return to His ways. . . . His religion was a this-worldly ethical discipline based upon a wholesome relationship between God and man, and man and man; in justice, righteousness, mercy and peace as the social instrumentalities in a divine moral order, under the governance of the Almighty" (page 116).

Dr. Fox has made a sincere and very readable attempt to interpret Lincoln's religious beliefs. It has been done well before, but this little volume merits the thoughtful consideration of all serious students of Lincoln's religion. S. A. W.

News and Comment

Blanchard Hall Tower at Wheaton College

Wheaton College, site of the sixtieth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society on October 9-11, has become known world wide through the use of the limestone tower of Blanchard Hall as its symbol. (See front cover of this issue of the *Journal.*) The center section of present-day Blanchard Hall was constructed for Illinois Institute in 1856 and was taken over by Jonathan Blanchard in 1860 when he founded Wheaton College. Additions were made to the original building from 1860 to 1927 — the stone above the doorway of the tower bears the date 1871 — and even in 1959 the first floor was remodeled. The 1,000-pound tower bell continues to summon students to chapel each morning and to herald college victories and announce engagements and weddings.

Illinois Territory Exhibit at State Fair

The sesquicentennial of Illinois Territory was observed by a special exhibit sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society at the 1959 Illinois State Fair, August 14-23. Materials for the display, which occupied the entire east window of the Illinois Building, consisted of original documents, letters, papers and books, authentic mementos and early photographs from the collections of the Illinois State Historical Library. Selection of the materials to be used was made by State Historian Clyde C. Walton and James T. Hickey, curator of the Horner-Lincoln Room of the Library. The latter then prepared the exhibit.

Illinois Territory was created when President Thomas Jefferson signed "An Act [of Congress] for the Division of Indiana Territory" on February 3, 1809. The territorial form of government was in use until Illinois was admitted to the Union on December 3, 1818.

The Historical Society exhibit consisted of an introductory display at the main entrance to the Illinois Building plus ten four-by-five-foot panels which filled the remainder of the sixty-odd feet of front window space. Since the territorial period was so brief, Walton explained, each panel was devoted to a single phase of the story rather than to a part of a chronological narrative.

One of the papers in the entrance display was a reproduction

of the original handwritten act of Congress creating the Territory — complete with the signature of President Jefferson. An interesting memento in this window was the cherry-wood box that served as the Territorial Treasury and later as the State Treasury. The box is 18 inches wide, 12 inches deep and 8 inches high. It is reinforced on the edges with brass angle plates, and the interior is partitioned into quarters. Along with the box were the small balance scales used by John Thomas, Territorial Treasurer and first State Treasurer, to weigh gold and silver payments.

Another much more elaborate box was also part of this display. It was the mahogany veneer medicine chest of Elias Kent Kane, Territorial Judge, Illinois' first Secretary of State and later U.S. Senator who died in office in 1835. When closed, the chest is 12 by 10 inches and 14½ inches high, but when opened out it measures two feet across the front. Inside are six small drawers with ivory pulls and compartments for twenty-two bottles of varying sizes. A small silver plate on the top is engraved, "Elias Kane, Kaskaskias, Illinois."

Other mementos in this entrance window were a copy of the first book published in Illinois Territory and a brick from the building that served as the territorial capitol. The book was the leather-bound two-volume *Pope's Digest* of the laws of the Territory compiled by Nathaniel Pope, Territorial Secretary, and published in Kaskaskia in June, 1815. The brick is over-size by present-day standards — about 9-by-4½-by-3 inches — and was made in Pittsburgh and shipped down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to the building site.

The first of the ten panels was devoted to the formation of Illinois Territory. The papers displayed here included original copies of letters by Rice Jones and Robert Morrison to Jesse B. Thomas, their delegate to Congress, about the territorial proposal. With these letters was the favorable report of the congressional committee which paved the way for passage of the act.

The next panel contained the original commissions of Ninian Edwards as Territorial Governor and Jesse B. Thomas as Territorial Judge. These papers were signed by President James Madison on April 24 and March 7, 1809, respectively. Also on this panel were pictures of Edwards and Thomas, along with the written oath administered to the latter by Territorial Secretary Pope.

The documents on the third panel were concerned with the territorial legislature. The Territory was empowered, in 1812, to form a legislature, and that October a five-member council and a seven-member house of representatives were named. A number of the official acts of the legislature

were reproduced in the exhibit — one ordered the expulsion of a member of the House, and another had to do with "Retaliation upon Hostile Indians."

A series of seven maps on the next panel showed how the number of counties was increased from one to fifteen during the territorial period.

The material on the fifth panel was about Kaskaskia itself and contained thirteen pictures beginning with an early drawing of the town and ending with a photograph of the capitol building taken in 1898 just before the river washed its foundations from under it and toppled it into the Mississippi. About half of the scenes were of the capitol, but there were also pictures of other buildings, including the land office, bank, and the home of Chief Du Quoin, last of the Kaskaskia Indians.

Matthew Duncan, the first printer in Illinois Territory, was the subject of the sixth panel. Duncan came to Kaskaskia and set up his shop in 1814. The panel contained several broadsides printed by him and the only existing issue of the *Illinois Herald,* the first newspaper in the Territory, which he published. It is dated December 13, 1814. *Pope's Digest* was also printed by Duncan.

The remaining panels were filled with pictures, documents, letters and maps of the territorial period. Among the papers were deeds, militia commissions, licenses to trade with Indians, trading accounts and land grants. The pictures included photographs of the homes of Shadrach Bond, Pierre Menard, Ninian Edwards and Elias Kent Kane, and Sweet's Tavern in Kaskaskia.

Executive Director Has Busy Summer

For the Illinois State Historical Society's Executive Director, Clyde C. Walton, the summer of 1959 was a busy season. In addition to his duties in Springfield as Illinois State Historian, his activities included a number of trips out of the city to fill speaking engagements, attend meetings and to visit the archives, historical societies and museums in other states. Following is a brief summary of this schedule:

June 18-20: Attended American Library Association Conference on Rare Books, Manuscripts and Special Collections at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville. Addressed the conference (June 19) on "Civil War Collecting."

June 21-27: Attended the annual meeting of the American Library Association in Washington, D.C. Participated in several of the association's discussion groups and also met with the National Civil War Centennial Association

and attended a congressional luncheon.

June 29-July 1: Visited Virginia Historical Society, State Library and Archives in Richmond.

July 2-3: Visited North Carolina Historical Society and Archives in Raleigh.

July 6-7: Visited Tennessee Historical Commission, State Library and Archives in Nashville.

July 8: Visited Kentucky Historical Society in Frankfort.

July 23: Attended meeting of Illinois State Historical Society program committee in Chicago. Wheaton schedule discussed.

July 24: Discussed annual meeting with Wheaton College officials.

July 27: Addressed Optimist Club of Springfield on "The Centennial of the Civil War."

July 31: Attended meetings in Springfield of the Illinois Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission and of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library.

August 5: Met in Carbondale with representatives of Southern Illinois University Printing Service on *Illinois History* production schedules for 1959-1960.

August 6: Visited Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis.

August 7: Met in Shawneetown with State Society program committee and Shawneetown Sesquicentennial Committee on the town's celebration and the special Society meeting to be held there in July, 1960.

September 1: Met with Shawneetown city council to discuss special Society meeting.

September 6: Attended "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" at New Salem.

September 13: Attended meetings in Bloomington of Board of Directors of the State Historical Society and of the Illinois Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission.

September 29: Examined the Lincoln collection of the late Herbert Wells Fay in DeKalb for the Illinois Attorney General.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

The second anniversary of the Historical Society of Arlington Heights was observed at its annual meeting on May 22. Theodore Militzer was elected president for 1959-1960. Other new officers include Mrs. Stephen Jurco, recording secretary; Mrs. Marjorie B. Allen, corresponding secretary; Virgil Horath, treasurer; and Mrs. Milton Daniels, curator. Albert F. Volz, Raoul Peeters and Mrs. Rex Volz were named directors.

With the co-operation of the Cosmopolitan Club, the Aurora Historical Museum held open house each evening during the second week of May. Cosmopolitan Club volunteers assisted the museum's curator, Mrs. Alice Applegate, and other Historical So-

ciety officers in conducting tours of the museum, which is usually open only on Wednesday, Friday and Sunday afternoons. During the 1958-1959 school year, Mrs. Applegate reports, between 60 and 180 school children visited the museum daily on scheduled tours.

Plans for the restoration of a century-old log cabin in the Greenville City Park were made at the quarterly meeting of the Bond County Historical Society on July 26. The Greenville Garden Club, the Benjamin Mills Chapter of D.A.R., the American Legion Post, the Hills' Fort Society of the C.A.R. and the Explorer Scout Troop are co-operating in the project.

The Society is also planning to sort and file historical documents which have been stored in the basement of the courthouse.

The program at the July meeting was presented by Mrs. Bess D. Moss, who read a paper on the early churches of Bond County.

Alex Summers of Mattoon, past president of the State Historical Society, gave an illustrated talk on the Amish and Mennonites of Illinois at the annual meeting of the Bureau County Historical Society on June 25.

The 1959 "Holiday House" celebration this Christmas at Magnolia Manor, home of the Cairo Historical Association, will feature the restored family kitchen, which contains a bricked-in wood-burning range. Still in usable condition, this huge range was brought by steamboat from Cincinnati to Cairo by the home's original owner, Charles A. Galigher.

Three new directors were elected at the Association's June board meeting. They are Mrs. Lewis Ent, Mrs. William Meehan and Mrs. Dallas Woods, who succeed outgoing directors Mrs. Warner Halliday, Mrs. Harry Weeks and Mrs. A. T. Smith.

The Association has undertaken a search for the bronze plaque, missing four or five years, which once marked the Civil War headquarters of General U. S. Grant in Cairo. The building has been razed, but the Association hopes to use the plaque at its site.

The history of the Woodlawn Wadsworth School, 1863-1959, was the subject of the program for the annual meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn, Chicago, on May 8. C. E. Fullmer, principal of the school, was guest speaker, and he was assisted by the following panel of former teachers and pupils: Miss Marion Bragdon, Mrs. Ivy Owens Morgan, Miss Olive Rumble, Miss Elizabeth Drew, Mrs. M. E. Brerton and Henry Vernon Slater. Mr. Slater also showed slides of the school and its pupils.

Knoch Knoll, the country home of Judge and Mrs. Win Knoch

south of Naperville, was the picturesque setting for the summer meeting of the Du Page County Historical Society on June 21. Judge Knoch talked to the Society about the county's pioneers, among whom were Stephen Scott and his son Willard, who settled in 1830 at the junction of the east and west branches of the Du Page River — now the site of Knoch Knoll.

The annual business meeting of the Society was held Sunday, May 31, in the old Glos Home (now the Municipal Building) in Elmhurst. Historical exhibits — many of them owned by the Society — are displayed on two floors of the home, which is open to the public.

Bliss E. Loy was elected president of the Effingham Regional Historical Society on April 28. Other new officers include Lester Wright, vice-president; Bessie Barbee, secretary-treasurer; and the following directors: Leo Baldwin, Mary Burtschi, Hilda Feldhake, Claude Hershey, Lowell Lewis, Eldon Ooten, John Russell and Clifford S. Stavens.

John W. Allen, past president of the State Historical Society, was the principal speaker for the May 26 meeting, held in the Helen Matthes Library in Effingham.

Galena Historical Society members took part in a boat excursion on the evening of June 26. A similar outing, taken last year, was so successful that the event promises to become an annual one. At the formal June meeting Mrs. George Millhouse was re-elected president of the Society; Mrs. Katherine Ambre was named treasurer; and the following new directors were chosen: Miss Irene Larey, Robert Shannon, George Virtue, Carl Willy and Ross Wise. Retiring directors are Mrs. C. E. Asmus, Dr. Ray Logan, Alfred Mueller, Louis Nack and Bernard Peschang. W. F. McCaughey and Ado Genz were named honorary directors for life, and Mrs. Irving Gamber was made a life member.

Dr. Charles Lyttle was elected president of the Geneva Historical Society at the sixteenth annual Society meeting, held Sunday, May 17, in the Wheeler Memorial Room of the library. Other officers include Frank Jarvis, first vice-president; Miss Mary Wheeler, second vice-president; Mrs. Margaret A. Allan, secretary; Jeanita Peterson, treasurer; and Miss Katie Lou Hawkins and Mrs. Julia D. White, directors. Continuing directors are Oliver Adamson, William Bullock, Mrs. O. B. Simon and Miss Alice Swarthout.

The Society's plaque was awarded this year to John Nottolini for the story of his house, formerly the home of George D. Patten, which served as the Kane County courthouse for two years after the courthouse building was destroyed by fire in 1890.

Recent acquisitions of the Society include a microfilm reader, presented to the Society by Mr. and Mrs. Harold Szold of New York; a set of Civil War naval records, presented by the Gail Borden Library of Elgin; an ice saw used by Nels Pierson, presented by Walter Gobil, and a set of moulding tools from the Howell Foundry, presented by Mrs. Evelyn McBreen Nelson.

A fund-raising market was held by the Greene County Historical Society on Saturday, June 27, in the Society's headquarters in the Geers Building, Carrollton. Mrs. Elona Seagraves was chairman of the planning committee.

Agnes Borlin, secretary of the organization, wrote in a *Greenfield Argus* story of June 19 that if the sale was not successful, the Society would "go down for a third time," since it would be unable to maintain its headquarters and exhibit space in the Geers Building.

The story of banking in Jersey County was discussed by Russell Warner, executive vice-president of the Jersey State Bank, Jerseyville, before that county's Historical Society on June 13. Although the county was organized in 1839, it had no banking facilities of any kind, Warner said, until 1854. Banks were once operated in such towns as Fieldon, Fidelity and Grafton, he continued, but the county's only two banks today are located in Jerseyville.

The *Kankakee Journal* publishes a local history column, "Up 'til Now," written by Harold W. Simmons, vice-president of the Kankakee County Historical Society. Several of his recent subjects have been the Columbus Day celebration of 1892, downtown Kankakee in the 1880's and the steamers that once plied the Kankakee River.

Modern methods of museum display were discussed by Richard S. Hagen, historical consultant of the Division of Parks and Memorials, Illinois Department of Conservation, at the July meeting of members of Knox Historical Sites, Inc. The Knox County organization is working on a museum housed in the old Knoxville courthouse.

The final meeting of the 1958-1959 year of the Land o' Goshen Historical Society was held Sunday, May 3, at the home of Mrs. Ansel Brown in Edwardsville, with Mrs. Mary Metcalfe as assistant hostess. Miss Dorothy Metcalfe was in charge of the program and read a paper on theaters, musicals and early entertainment in Edwardsville.

The one hundredth anniversary of the death of the Indian chief Shabbona was observed by the

La Salle County Historical Society on May 24. (Shabbona died in July of 1859.) Society members visited Evergreen Cemetery, Morris, where President C. C. Tisler placed a memorial wreath on Shabbona's grave, and then proceeded to the home of Mr. and Mrs. John Ullrich, where they heard talks by the hostess, by Robert E. Mills of Ottawa and by Mrs. Frank Dupuis, great-great-granddaughter of Shabbona.

On July 12 the Society met at the Marseilles Public Library for a program arranged by Miss Mary V. Carney. Speakers included Dr. Ted Clark, who talked on the settlement of the area; Mrs. Priscilla Richey Fries, on the Richey Stagecoach Tavern, the oldest house in Marseilles; Nathan Fleming, on industrial developments in Marseilles; Richard Doherty, on pioneer epidemics and unmarked graves; and C. C. Tisler, on the old haunted mill. After the program, guests visited the Marseilles locks on the Illinois River and were entertained at a picnic supper.

The Lincoln Sesquicentennial was the theme of the May meeting of the Lewis and Clark Historical Society at Wood River. Principal guest speaker was Harold G. Baker, Jr., East St. Louis attorney, who talked on Lincoln and the Civil War. Other speakers included Omar Lyon, president of the Wood River Library Board and Miss Stella Michael, president of the Old Baden Historical Society of St. Louis.

Society members displayed a Lincoln exhibit which featured Mrs. Howard Trovilion's collection of dolls depicting figures of the Lincoln era.

Loyal D. Palmer is president of the Lewis and Clark Society, and Miss Effie Maxey is secretary.

Another exhibit of Lincolniana is on display in the McLean County Historical Society Museum in the McBarnes Memorial Building, Bloomington. The exhibit was prepared by L. R. St. John, an agent of the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company.

The Madison County Historical Society honored three townships — New Douglas, Olive and Oomphghent — at its annual spring meeting, May 17. The meeting was held at Livingston, one of the four villages located in the honored townships; the other three are New Douglas, Williamson and Worden.

Participating in the program were Society President Burton C. Bernard of Granite City, the Rev. Mr. Kenneth Gorrell of Immanuel Lutheran Church, New Douglas; Fr. Francis J. Corrigan, Sacred Heart Church, Livingston; Attorney Jesse R. Brown of Edwardsville and Mrs. Maurice Burgett, New Douglas. Brief welcoming addresses were given by the four

village presidents — Steven Ruzevich of Livingston, Louis Buck of New Douglas, Edward Kieffer of Williamson and William Jenkins of Worden.

Maurice Burgett presented a history of New Douglas Township, and the Rev. Mr. Harold E. Camp read a history of Livingston and Williamson which had been prepared by his sister, Mrs. Hugh E. Menk of Staunton.

At the close of the ceremonies T. Z. Ladd presented a plaque commemorating the Maple Grove Old Settlers' Association to Edward Lewis, 87, oldest resident of New Douglas. The plaque will mark the meeting-place of the Maple Grove Association.

Elmer Graber, principal of the Lostant High School, presented an illustrated lecture on places associated with Lincoln at the Marshall County Historical Society meeting in Wenona, June 4. At a business meeting preceding the talk, Miss Eleanor Bussell reported on the progress of the sale of Society stationery illustrated with scenes of Marshall County landmarks. Mrs. Florence Grieves of Lacon, a Society vice-president, presided at the meeting.

The Morgan County Historical Society's spring meeting, held in April at the Dunlap Hotel, featured tape-recorded interviews with Harvey Atkins and John Buckley of Jacksonville, who told of life in that city at the turn of the century.

The meeting of the Nauvoo Historical Society on July 21 consisted of a brief business session following a picnic supper at the Nauvoo State Park. Reports were given on two markers which the Society plans to erect and on recent acquisitions of the Society's museum.

Miss Mary Siegfried, Mrs. Pearl Gordon Vestal, M. Dadant and Mrs. Carl J. Blum were appointed to a committee which will study the feasibility of publishing a pamphlet on the French Icarians of Nauvoo. A second committee, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Wayne Earls, Mr. and Mrs. William Ortman and Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Ettinger, was named to arrange a Society float for the Grape Festival parade.

Senator Robert Canfield of Rockford was guest speaker at the May 25 meeting of the Ogle County Historical Society, held at the new Forreston high school.

Gerald T. Kelsch was re-elected president of the Peoria Historical Society at the annual dinner May 18. Other officers for the coming year are Clarence L. Johnson, vice-president; George W. May, secretary; Raymond N. Brons, treasurer; Ruth Montgomery, Luella Harlan and G. R. Barnett, directors.

Speaker at the twenty-fifth an-

niversary meeting was Wayne C. Townley, Bloomington attorney, who has served as president of both the McLean County and State Historical societies. Townley discussed the career of Stephen A. Douglas, emphasizing particularly Douglas' work as an Illinois state's attorney. He deplored the fact that the Douglas family home at Jacksonville is soon to be razed.

The Peoria Society is the successor organization to the Peoria Scientific Society which was founded by Dr. Frederick Brendel, a German-born physician who kept the city's first continuous weather records. The Scientific Society's papers are now in the custody of the Historical Society, nine of whose one hundred charter members still belong to the organization. These members are G. R. Barnett, Raymond N. Brons, Virginius H. Chase, Ernest E. East, Dr. P. B. Goodwin, Howard A. Hunter, Miss Margaret McIlvaine, Miss Emma Shriner and Harry L. Spooner.

The Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County held its annual meeting June 5, at which time Mrs. Jane Bowman, curator, reported that during the year more than 1,100 people had visited the Society building, formerly the home of Illinois Governor John Wood.

Incumbent officers and trustees re-elected for 1959-1960 are George M. Irwin, president; James W. Carrott, first vice-president; William J. Dieterich, recording secretary; Mrs. William Wessels, corresponding secretary; Harvey H. Sprick, treasurer; W. Edwin Brown, William F. Gerdes and Edward P. Lannan, trustees. Committee chairmen are Mrs. Louise Weems Abbott, gifts and acquisitions; William Warford, program; and Mrs. James P. Nielson, membership.

Recent acquisitions of the Society include a cigar-store Indian; the first fire engine in Quincy, marked with the date "1839" and believed to have been the first in the state; and several pieces of furniture made by the Jansen furniture factory in Quincy.

The second annual ringing of the Liberty Bell on Kaskaskia Island took place July 4 in ceremonies sponsored by the Randolph County Historical Society. Immediately preceding the bell-ringing, Father Karl Pimeskern of the Church of the Immaculate Conception conducted a special Mass as part of the observance.

The octagonal Charter Oak School, near Schuline, was the site of the July 19 meeting of the Society. The program was devoted to a discussion of means of preserving the school and such other landmarks in the county as the Underground Railroad station at Eden and the Shiloh Hill School, which once housed Shiloh College.

A German dinner and enter-

tainment by a German band were highlights of the June 18 meeting of the Society at Steelville. Mrs. Mona Wittbracht was in charge of the meeting, and the dinner was prepared by the Ladies' Aid of St. Mark's Lutheran Church.

Sixty-five members of the Saline County Historical Society visited the recently restored State Bank in Old Shawneetown on July 7. The tour of the bank was conducted by Barry Tracy, assistant historical consultant with the Division of Parks and Memorials, Illinois Department of Conservation. According to Tracy, the bank building is one of the finest examples of Greek Revival architecture in the state.

After a potluck supper, the Society heard talks on the history of Shawneetown banks by Louis Aaron, W. H. Brinkley and Mrs. John Foster.

In June, Society members held their first outdoor picnic and meeting of the summer at the Big Saline United Baptist Church in the Somerset community. Various aspects of the area's history were discussed by Otto Cummins, Mrs. Lottie Harrison, Guy DeNeal, Mrs. A. T. Aydelotte and Mrs. Ken Hamilton.

Harvey Slaton of Harrisburg, principal speaker at the Society's May meeting, discussed the history of archaeological developments in southern Illinois and the culture of prehistoric Indians of that area. After the meeting, guests examined displays of Indian artifacts from the collections of Mr. and Mrs. Slaton, Mr. and Mrs. William Farley and Mr. and Mrs. James Bond. Refreshments were served by Mrs. J. M. Burley, Mrs. Ray Durham, Mrs. E. B. Webster, Miss Mabel Mallonee and Mrs. Clarence Bosket.

Dwight P. Green, Winnetka attorney, spoke to the Stephenson County Historical Society at Freeport, May 15, on the subject "Currier and Ives Prints and Mississippi River Steamboats." Green owns twenty-three of the twenty-seven original Currier and Ives prints associated with the Mississippi River, and illustrated his talk with slides of these prints and of his own river photographs.

Before the meeting, members had received copies of the Society's annual report prepared by Mrs. Glenn Schwendiman, president, and Philip L. Keister, secretary.

At the annual Society picnic, held Sunday, June 22, on the museum grounds, Clifford L. Clevenger reported on the progress of the "farm museum." Dr. John W. Barrett of the arboretum committee and Museum Custodian Roy A. Zilmer discussed shade trees, with particular emphasis on those in the Society's arboretum, which contains perhaps the finest collection of rare trees in northwestern Illinois, many of them

more than one hundred years old.

In the months of June and July the museum featured an exhibit entitled "Weddings of Yesteryear." On display were five wedding dresses, dating from 1856, elaborate fans carried in weddings of the 1890's and such typical wedding presents of the Victorian era as a jeweled hanging lamp and a brass hanging teapot.

On July 24 the Society sponsored an ice cream social on the museum lawn.

Forty-five residents of the Sterling-Rock Falls area became charter members of Sterling-Rock Falls Historical Society when that group completed its organization on May 19. Officers of the Society are Gunnar Benson, Sterling, president; Richard Metcalfe, Sterling, vice-president; Mrs. Madeleine Nuttall, Rock Falls, secretary; Lloyd Elfline, treasurer. William U'Ren was program chairman for the May meeting.

On June 14 the Society conducted a bus tour of Sterling's historic sites in observance of the one hundred twenty-fifth anniversary of the first settlement in the community. On July 19 a second Society tour visited similar sites in Rock Falls, Como, Galt and Emerson.

Sixty-nine exchange students from eighteen countries whose study in this country was sponsored by the American Field Service visited Lincoln sites in Vandalia early in July. They were touring the United States before returning to New York for departure for their homes. At a picnic lunch in Vandalia, Miss Mary Burtschi, representing the Vandalia Historical Society, spoke to them on Lincoln's role in Vandalia when that city was the state capital.

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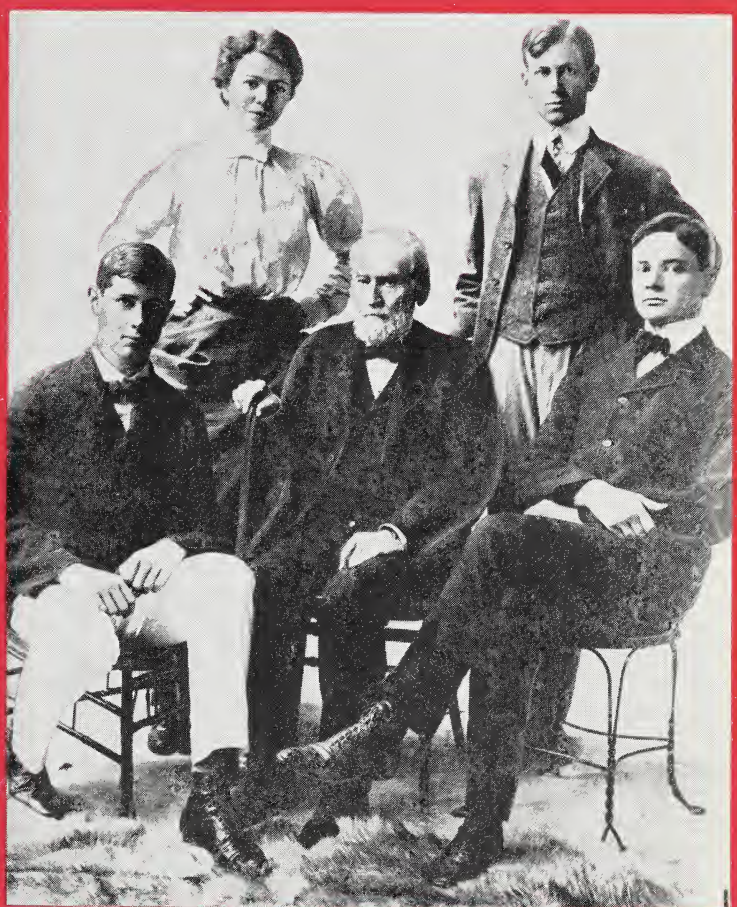

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WALTER TROHAN

My Life with the Colonel

This article was used originally as a talk before a meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society in the Fischer lecture room of Blanchard Hall, Wheaton College on October 11. Although the text is the same, readers will miss the humorously affectionate tones of the speaker's delivery.

ON INAUGURATION DAY, March 4, 1929, Arthur Sears Henning, Washington correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune,* braved the cold and rain to view the outdoor ceremony at the Capitol. He saw a deeply moved Herbert Hoover raise his right hand and repeat the oath of office after the bearded dignity that was Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, while Calvin Coolidge glumly contemplated his loss of power and prestige. As the drenched new President began outlining the measures of reconstruction and development, the reforms of the social and business life and the reorientation of foreign relations which he proposed as the course of the ship of state, Henning hurried to the *Tribune* bureau to begin writing the inaugural story. He had completed his lead when, at 12:20 P.M., a telegram was thrust before him which read, "THIS MAN WON'T DO."

The telegram was signed "McCormick," a signature I later came to know all too well. Herbert Hoover had lasted exactly twenty minutes with Robert Rutherford McCormick, editor and publisher of the *Tribune,* although the American people did not write him out until three and a half years

later. Henning, ever the gentleman and always an intelligent bureau chief, tore out the paper on which he had written his first paragraph, inserted a fresh sheet and began a new lead. Curiously enough, Franklin D. Roosevelt lasted more than ten weeks. The *Tribune* had not endorsed either Hoover or Roosevelt in the 1932 campaign, but no President was more warmly applauded by the *Tribune* on taking office than FDR, but in those days the mellifluous Roosevelt was denouncing "government by oligarchy masquerading as democracy." It wasn't until seventy-four days after his "we have nothing to fear but fear itself" inaugural that FDR launched the Blue Eagle of the National Recovery Administration, which appalled McCormick for its revolutionary character and doubtful constitutionality, and the break came.

At the time McCormick wrote off Hoover, I was beginning my eighth day on the *Tribune,* covering the county building, a post of placidity such as I have never known since. By the time he broke with Roosevelt, whom I got to know before the 1932 nominating convention, I had graduated to the more exacting but still far from turbulent life of general assignments. It was not until I went to Washington in 1934 that telegrams signed "McCormick" and letters signed "McC" began to explode over my life like Roman candles. And it was not until I became executive director and later bureau chief that these explosive missiles set the tempo of an existence that makes James Thurber's *The Years with Ross* as uneventful as the meditation hour in a Trappist monastery. The fact that I survived is a tribute not only to human endurance and mental agility but also to abiding affection, deep respect and stimulating astonishment. There was seldom a dull moment and few idle ones in the Gatling gun spray of messages, letters and telephone calls.

The pace quickened, although it was already furious, when McCormick began dividing his time between Chicago and Washington after the purchase of the *Times-Herald.*

To those who worked intimately with Robert R. McCormick, he was known affectionately as "the Colonel." Like a benevolent Ebenezer Scrooge he was the author of our feasts, and mighty good eating it was, too. He figured so much in our daily lives that the late Edward Scott Beck, onetime managing editor, said he was going to write a book entitled "The Colonel Told Me." And with a characteristic twinkle in his eye Beck would cover the other side of the coin by noting that Louis Rose, onetime circulation manager, was going to write the sequel, which would be entitled "I Told the Colonel."

To those who saw him from a distance with something less than affection he was also known as "the Colonel" but with an accent that branded him as a pompous martinet or a satrap of Satan. Although he was a hard man to be indifferent to, he was actually shy. From what he told me I have always believed that the shyness came from the fact that his mother favored his brother, Medill McCormick, later a United States Senator, and that his childhood in schools in England and the United States was lonely and unhappy. At times the Colonel seemed to enjoy cultivating hate rather than affection, but above all he could not tolerate indifference and he seldom got it.

The Colonel was a personage in his own right and, as such, was sought after from Buckingham Palace to the Executive Mansion at Monrovia. About ten years ago the governor of Jamaica was in a dither because, as he explained, "I've invited the Colonel to lunch and can't move the picture." An aid, who thought the good governor had been

touched by the island sun, asked, "What picture?" "The picture of George III," replied the governor. The aid suggested that the governor seat the Colonel so the picture would be at his back. The governor said he could not do that because, "It's the governor's chair, you know." Finally, assured that the Colonel was a gentleman and had gone to school in England, the governor went ahead with the luncheon. When the time came for toasts, he arose and proposed, "To the King." Slowly, because he was mindful that Harry Truman was in the White House, the Colonel rose to respond. He looked at the portrait of the King, at the ceiling, back at the King, and said, "To the Father of my Country."

The Colonel had another experience with British toasts. At a quiet and private dinner in the home of Winston Churchill, the Britisher said, "I assume you'll want to begin with one of those abominable American cocktails." The Colonel said he would like an Old Fashioned. "Good," said Churchill, "the only drinkable cocktail." Dinner proceeded with white and red wine and champagne. At the end of dinner the butler produced port. The Colonel said he couldn't take anything more. "But this port was laid down by Father in the last century," Churchill protested. "You would insult any British host by not drinking his port." The Colonel accepted port under the circumstances. "Now, how about a spot of brandy?" Churchill invited. "I don't care whether I insult the king, the queen and the whole British Empire," responded the Colonel, "no, thank you." "Good," exclaimed Churchill, "then we'll proceed to Scotch and soda."

As historians you know how difficult it is to chronicle all the events of a single day in the life of any man and to say which event was crucial and which was not. In the first

Henry Ford, left, and Colonel McCormick had smiles for each other when this picture was taken in 1943 — but some twenty years earlier the motor magnate had sued the Tribune *for libel, asking a million dollars' damages and receiving six cents.*

place, it is difficult to recapture all the events, and then the testimony and credibility of witnesses must be weighed and considered. Even so, there is no way of knowing whether any of the recaptured events were the important factor in any great decision or whether the die was cast on the basis of some offhand remark in some casual exchange we know nothing about.

Over the years I spent many days and hours with the Colonel in great intimacy. He was my boss but he became my friend. Some of these days he made quite eventful in facing the political and social problems of a turbulent era.

In the space of time I have, I would hesitate to trace any crucial decision, even any I might think I influenced. I would not attempt to unfold a mind as complex as the Colonel's any more than I would try to grasp a handful of quicksilver.

It is my considered judgment that the Colonel was a great man. I might, out of reverence, conclude, as James Boswell did of Samuel Johnson, that his "talents, acquirements and virtues were so extraordinary that the more his character is considered, the more he will be regarded by the present age, and by posterity, with affection and reverence," but even one so admiring as myself would never conclude, as Plato did of Socrates, that he was "the man, we hold best, wisest, most just of his age."

I would prefer to say the Colonel was the most interesting character I ever met. I was constantly amazed by his penetration. I wondered at his varied abilities and interests. There were times when his courage made me proud to know him. There were times when I loved him for the enemies he made and times when I loved him for his loyalty and generosity toward his friends and those close to his friends. There were times when I marveled at his understanding and knowledge of history, particularly of the War of the Revolution and the Civil War and of the stormy Stuart period in English history. I could admire him for having given up playing cards in college as a waste of time or for giving up smoking because he would not be chained to a habit.

I know that as a lawyer he founded one of Chicago's greatest law firms. I know that as a businessman he was the first to recognize the value of North Michigan Avenue by locating Tribune Tower across the river. I know that as a publisher he had the vision to conquer forests, establish

towns, build his own TVA and create his own fleet so that trees might grow into *Tribunes.* I know also of his pioneering with color, his interest in type, his emphasis on mechanical equipment. I followed his experimentation in making rubber from wood, his experimental farm.

The vision he displayed built the *Tribune* into the largest full-sized newspaper in America. This vision led him to see the value of elevated highways for Chicago, although this improvement did not come until after his death. He also saw the necessity and value of a lake front airport, which has not yet reached the dimensions needed by the people of a city he loved. He was proud of his career as a soldier, seeing service on the Mexican border and in France, where he also displayed vision and courage.

But the Colonel's real place is as an editor, and it is in this field that his reputation will live or die. He was the last of the great personal journalists. He didn't found the *Tribune,* but he took control in a critical period and built it to its present eminence. He exercised a tremendous influence upon the thinking of an area and attracted attention far beyond the normal circulation field that the paper could be expected to command. His greatest quality as an editor was the courage of his convictions. He was a conservative, one who based his principles and his scale of values on an appreciation of the wisdom of the generations that have gone before, the understanding of history and the reconciliation of the altered circumstances of current life with the experience of the past.

The Colonel was constantly seeking, reasonably and prudently, although, it must be confessed, with some impatience, to reconcile the best of the wisdom and the experiences of our ancestors with the changes which are perhaps essential

to a vigorous social existence. He had no patience with throwing past wisdom and experience out of the window. He could not see that anything new was holy solely because it was new. In his way he was a religious man, although he did not employ God for profit or for argument. I never heard him mention God, in a reverential way, but at least he wasn't critical of Him. As with Yale, his interest was with his class, so with God his interest was in the Presbyterian Church.

Under the "great man" theory of history, with which you are all familiar, it was George Washington who spent the winter at Valley Forge, not the Continental Army. Under this theory it isn't the people in mass but the leaders who have wrought changes in war, economics, social life and religion. As far as the *Tribune* is concerned, there is much to be said for the simplification that the *Tribune* was and is Colonel McCormick. Yet the *Tribune* goes on and the Colonel is gone. That's what he expected and that's the way he wanted it to be. In this connection it has been written in sections of the so-called liberal press that the Colonel feared death and tried to ban its mention in his presence. Nothing could be further from the truth, as is evidenced by the way he prepared for death. He left his personal fortune almost entirely to charity, a fact which does not measure well with the attempt to portray him as the stanchest defender of the robber barons and one of the biggest of them all. And he left control of the paper and his charities to trusted employees.

It can now be told, I believe for the first time, that one day, about a year before his death, the Colonel came out of Tribune Tower with Major General Levin Campbell, former chief of ordnance. While they waited for traffic, the

General looked up at the Tower, remarking that the Colonel must be proud to have built so lasting a memorial to himself as the *Tribune*. The Colonel pursed his lips, a characteristic gesture when he was mulling over a thought, and then observed: "I suppose it will last about the way I leave it for about ten years." He wanted the *Tribune* to continue strong and vibrant, but he wanted also to have those following him to be independent and free and not chained to his grave.

As I said before, I would as soon try to grasp a handful of quicksilver as to attempt to present a complete and lasting appraisal of so accomplished and so mercurial a man as the Colonel. All I can do is present a few facets of life with him in his most important role as editor. Some of these, I must confess, drove me to exasperation, so that while I loved him I could cheerfully have strangled him many times. But I could never neglect him because in the midst of the most trivial and exasperating flow of suggestions, requests and unrelated inquiries, he would come up with the most accurate information and the most penetrating observations. I can best sum up my feeling, in this respect, by recalling the words of the wife of one of my closest friends, who is more than a little difficult — I seem to attract characters — when she was asked if she had ever considered divorcing her husband. "Divorce," she mused, "never! Murder, many times."

I knew the general, and many of the intimate, circumstances of the Colonel's life. What I did not see or know of myself, he told me a great deal about, and friends and enemies supplied considerable. He told me of his school days in England, where he studied history at first hand; his days at Groton, where he was a schoolmate of Franklin D. Roosevelt; of his days at Yale, where he was directed by the read-

ing of Frank Merriwell; his service on the Mexican border, where he bought a machine gun for his national guard unit – the first machine gun in the American military establishment, General Willis Crittenberger told me; his service in World War I, where the First Division became one of his few shrines; his taking over the *Tribune* with his cousin Captain Joseph Patterson; his explorations in Canada, and much more. I knew a wide circle of his friends, associates and enemies. I knew something of his economic circumstances and outlook; he was fond of remarking that he and I were of the middle class, but I couldn't help feeling that his view of that class was as broad as a Democratic Party which can include Senator Harry Flood Byrd along with Senator Hubert Horatio Humphrey.

In a burst of frankness the Colonel once confided to me that all McCormicks, except himself, were crazy. Then with the fine sense of humor that was at constant war with his shyness, he added, "You wouldn't agree with that, would you, Walter?" In all honesty I had to answer that there were times when I would not. I knew he disliked divorce but was proud of the fact that two women had divorced their husbands to marry him. I have eaten his bread and drunk his wine and he has eaten and drunk mine. Once in a restaurant, when he reached for his pocketbook, I remarked that I was getting the check. He put the pocketbook away, declaring, "What do you think I brought you along for?"

On visits to New York the Colonel would write a few days in advance for theater tickets. Once aboard the train he would meet someone or decide to invite someone along and wire for four tickets. This happened when Eugene Struhsacker, of the New York advertising office, had filled

instructions after exhausting every friend and mortgaging advertising space to get four seats together for four shows on the hit level with "Oklahoma!" When we called on the Colonel together, Gene asked me to ask the Colonel how he liked the show and why he picked the four particular shows.

"Last night's show was the greatest I ever saw," said the Colonel, and then after a moment he added, "How did it come out?"

Struhsacker swallowed and his mouth gaped, but he managed to ask in turn, "How did it come out?"

"Yes," said the Colonel, "I left before the last act."

The explanation for the selection of the shows was more simple. The Colonel said he had read in Claudia Cassidy's column that those were the four hardest shows to get into, so he concluded they must be the best.

The Colonel was most impatient. Often we would set out for Bull Run, Gettysburg or some other historic site only to have him order the car around as we got near. Once he went to see "Hamlet" with his chauffeur. They were late and had to stumble over feet to get to their seats. The stage was dark, as a doubting Horatio awaited the appearance of the ghost. When it came, instead of Horatio's astonishment, the audience heard McCormick's booming voice cry out, "Come on, Bill, let's go. I saw this play in college."

While I know much of the Colonel, I would not attempt his biography, much less give even an outline in the time I have. I can only present facets which will shed some light on the manner of man he was, as I have been doing. He was, as I said, the last of the great practitioners of personal journalism, in the school of Joseph Medill, his grandfather, of Horace Greeley, who became a presidential candidate, and William Randolph Hearst, a contemporary but not an

intimate. McCormick was ever mindful of his grandfather's role in the founding of the Republican Party and as kingmaker in the 1860 nomination of Abraham Lincoln, as is evidenced by his support of a wide variety of Republican white hopes, notably the late Senator Robert A. Taft. It always seemed to me he felt in some way that he had failed his heritage by not nominating his choice. I felt even more strongly that he, like Greeley until his nomination, felt that his party's nomination often went to men worse than himself. With this I could agree, although my nightmares often concerned running the *Tribune's* Washington bureau with McCormick in the White House.

He saw the Republican shift to the left, writing in 1946, after the Republican congressional victory, "I'm afraid the Republicans are going New Deal. Vandenberg went that way when it looked as though it were irresistible and his authority and White's[1] are apparently going to put them into positions of leadership." Now and then his thoughts would turn toward a third party. Once he wired in jubilation, "I have found my Frémont. It's Wedemeyer." The fact that General Albert C. Wedemeyer might not be interested didn't occur to him. He was a little miffed with the General and took it out on a *Tribune* editor, threatening to fire him, although he seldom — in fact, almost never — fired anyone.

That's what makes the Colonel so difficult to pin down and classify. He was often as cryptic as the Delphic Oracle and as devious as a dictator. At other times he was as direct as a child and as blunt as a sledge hammer. And at all times he believed in stirring up the animals. He kept me

1. Wallace Humphrey White, senator from Maine, who became majority leader when the Republicans gained control of the 80th Congress.

busy, but at the same time he kept his various editors, reporters and foreign correspondents busy. He kept his far-flung chain of executives in advertising, maintenance and operations equally busy. In this connection it must be noted that he was quick to forgive mistakes. At times it appeared as though he delighted to have a mistake made so that he could be forgiving and correcting.

In politics he was not one to cry over spilt milk, having had considerable experience in defeat. After the 1948 Republican convention he wrote, "Of course the news now is in the Democratic convention — the Republican convention is now history." The Colonel had contributed to the problems of this convention by issuing anti-Dewey statements without giving them to his own paper, at a time when its publication was hampered by a printer's strike. He made life almost unbearable when he appeared to believe a defeated presidential candidate and a senator jealous of the role of Illinois' Governor Dwight Green, as convention keynoter, sought to implant the idea that a *Tribune* editor was working with Green to doublecross Taft and the Colonel to nominate Thomas E. Dewey. Taft lost the nomination but survived the convention. For a time it was touch and go whether the editor would.

By 1949 we were back on the convention merry-go-round. The Colonel called on General Eisenhower at Columbia, reporting, "He talked very reasonably, said there was a limit to the amount of money we could spend on defense, and that the three services ought to be less pigheaded and work together." Ike was then not a candidate, but was shaping up, as a December 7, 1950 letter indicated. This read:

> You may have noted the very catchy song in Ethel Merman's play — "They Like Ike." It is obviously political propaganda.

I don't know anything about Berlin's connections or whether he is mixed up in subversive activities.

About this time the Colonel said, "Ike is now candidate for President although he wasn't some years ago. This is certainly not the time to campaign against him, but you might collect the arguments that could be used against him if he were nominated."

McCormick was again with Taft, but the Ohio Senator wrote a book on foreign policy which did not please the editor. Shortly after the book appeared I got the following message:

The continuous repetition of the Taft-Eisenhower story is getting monotonous. I find it hard reading myself. I think you will pick up readers if you discuss the possible candidates for Vice-President.

At the same time a politician came to McCormick asking for his support for John Foster Dulles for Vice-President. The Colonel reported, "I told him I would just as soon support Judas Iscariot."

In March, 1952 the Colonel went abroad and called on Eisenhower at SHAPE headquarters. There he became more interested in a map on the wall of Brigadier General Charles T. (Buck) Lanham, showing a segment of the world running from England to the Caspian Sea and from North Africa up. He cabled me to get the map, while I wondered whether or not Ike got him.

The respite from the presidential race didn't last long. He was soon swinging his broadax in the editorial columns and in Washington dispatches. It was a constant source of irritation to me that he often ordered stories to follow editorials instead of the other way around. I was never able to change him, for all my pleading. Sometimes I had a feeling that he took as his guideline for the editorials he

ordered the title of a book by a medieval scholar *De Omni Re Scibili et Quibusdam Aliis* (Of Everything Knowable and Certain Other Things).

When Taft's hopes faded, I got a message from the Senator asking me to see him immediately. I was on deadline, but managed to tear away. The puzzled Senator said he had just received a visit from Mrs. McCormick urging him to withdraw in favor of General Douglas MacArthur. Taft got the implication that such was the Colonel's will, although he said the Colonel had phoned him earlier to go down with his flags flying, which was Taft's own desire and thinking. My advice was to follow the Colonel, noting that he was not given to being influenced by anyone, even one wearing petticoats.

The Colonel's friendship with MacArthur went back to World War I days. He liked to tell of calling on MacArthur when the latter had been made a brigadier general and noting that MacArthur "commented smilingly I had gained on him but had not yet caught up, as I was a major when he was a colonel." At that time General John J. Pershing told the Colonel he would have to go back to America and bring back a brigade in the spring, which would have meant a general's stars for the Colonel. McCormick once confided that he was most disappointed when the war ended because he had missed the stars, but then he realized that he would have had men die so that he could be a general, a realization which he said awakened him to the terrors of military ambition.

During World War II the Colonel had me send a personal message of congratulations to MacArthur through an officer I knew who was flying to join the General. In his complimentary and cordial reply MacArthur said he wished the

Colonel were with him. It took a bit of convincing to keep the Colonel from getting his uniform out of moth balls and setting off to join what I am sure would have been a flabbergasted commander.

When MacArthur was abruptly removed from command in the Pacific, McCormick wired me that Dwight Young, president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, had invited the General to address the society's convention. McCormick advised me he thought it would be better that MacArthur address a joint session of Congress. I could take a hint and went to work. I don't claim that the Colonel and I got MacArthur invited, but we didn't stop the invitation. When the great day came, the Colonel wanted seats for himself and Mrs. McCormick, no small problem, as you can imagine. I twisted the arms of Congresswoman Marguerite Stitt Church and the late Congressman Sid Simpson, who twisted mine right back by sending, along with the ticket, a copy of a speech he said he thought might interest me. For the address I occupied the *Tribune* seat in the House Press Gallery. Over the years I had become used to the unexpected, but I must say I was more than surprised to see the Colonel rise up in the hushed gallery across the way, stumble over the knees of sitters and make his way up an aisle to an exit just as MacArthur launched into his peroration about old soldiers fading away. There wasn't a dry eye in the house, nor an empty seat — except the Colonel's.

The State Department was a favorite whipping boy. Assignments such as "What about the society boys in the State Department?" or "Have a story on the colleges of the diplomats" were frequent. He was given to answering State Department explanations of any situation by such messages as, "The State Department explanation would carry more

weight if the department were not so full of reds." He was never tired of running the list of holders of foreign decorations of knighthood, ordering, "Send the full list of American knights," but he never turned any down himself, even taking one from Perón. Once when Syngman Rhee offered me the Order of Teigook, the oldest order in the world, I dodged the saintly fellow by suggesting he give it to the Colonel. It did surprise me, but only mildly, when the Colonel explained that Korea was a small country, so he would take it. He made a special trip to get the order and another when Korea presented him with the medal of the Republic of Korea some years later.

Diplomats were a frequent target, especially when they pleaded immunity after embassy cars killed pedestrians. He exhausted all avenues to bring such malefactors to justice, even to suggesting civil suits for damages, but was stymied by the code of diplomatic immunity, which he was convinced had been stretched beyond reason.

One never knew what the mail or wires or phone would bring. One letter read:

> My portrait has me in the uniform of a Colonel of artillery with a cannon. After that was painted I was appointed to the general staff. I would not want to take the cannon off.
>
> Find out if it would be proper for me to have the braid around the cuff painted black, as it is in the general staff, or to put it another way, would it be objectionable to do that?

Once the Colonel wired to ask the name of his London hatter. Knowing only one hatter in London, I said I didn't know but presumed it was Locke. He didn't think so. A few days later I got a letter reading:

> I thought you had the wrong man for my hatter. He was A. J. White. My haberdasher was Muhlenkamp; my shoemaker was

John Lobb: my tailor was Hill Brothers, who since have joined with Peale. I may say they were my father's before me.

He would froth at the mouth at suggestions of Union Now, asking, "What makes Kefauver so un-American?" Or, "What do Kefauver and his Atlantic Union police propose to do with king and nobility in the European countries?" He was concerned with the possibility of overriding the constitution through treaty power.

Messages such as the following frequently enlivened the day:

There must be enormous corruption in the Army or the Air Force. There is no way for you to investigate it, but someone may have noticed whether the wives are sporting clothes far beyond officers' salaries.

Look out for Senator Butler's speech in the Senate, Tuesday, April 10.

Is Saltonstall descended from the Saltonstall who left Boston with Gage in the Revolutionary War?

There were Confederate flags on sale in the Yale bowl last week, but I did not see anybody carrying one.

From whom must I obtain permission to land at Fernando Noronha?

Cannot understand O'Dwyer going to Mexico with his bad heart. Mexico City is 8,500 feet high.

In view of the enormous expense, is the *Missouri* still being kept in commission?

What does Acheson propose to do to get the British army of conquest out of Egypt?

A couple of weeks ago I told you about seeing an army ship going up the Welland canal with a tank on its deck and the tank looked pretty big. Have not heard any comment from you about it. [He didn't hear for a very good reason. The movement was classified because the tank was being shipped back to Detroit for alteration after tests.]

What do you know about the airport at Malta?

I think you could have a special story on the women spies and their motives — romantic, financial or political.

My file of correspondence with General Willoughby is missing. Did we send it to you?

I hear Vandenberg wants to run his son to succeed him.

I wonder what it costs changing postage stamps all the time.

I see there was a double turreted *Monitor* at Fort Fisher. I think a double turreted *Monitor* went around the Horn and afterwards crossed the Pacific to Manila. Was it the same ship?

A long time ago Syngman Rhee was supposed to have sent me some weapons via a Korean who came to this country. They never showed up.

I have a straight cavalry sword. The saber I want is curved. It was used by the cavalry about 1916, and of course swords have become obsolete.

———— insists secretary ———— is a crook. What is your impression?

I don't like the expression "young turks." Stick to New Deal Republicans.

Ask the British Embassy for the exact language that was used to the effect that Belgium occupied by a first-class power is a pistol pointed at the heart of England. [The British Embassy knew nothing of the quote, but the Library of Congress found that Napoleon said, "Antwerp is a pistol pointed at the heart of England."]

Once the Colonel phoned me to ask who licked James J. Corbett. I told him it was Robert Fitzsimmons.

"Your memory is better than mine," he wrote the next day. "I thought it was Joe Wolcott."

"At whatever time is most suitable send a list of all corruptions that have taken place in Truman's administration," he wired on April 2, 1951. Four days later he was prodding, "You have coming up . . . the scandals in the Truman administration." At other times he either wrote or wired:

Griffin [Eugene Griffin, *Tribune* correspondent in Canada] says there is no British statue on Boston Commons. Perhaps there is one somewhere else — can you locate it?

Does the Committee on Un-American Activities interest itself in anything but Communist activities?

For my information are the White House, the Washington Monument and the Jefferson Memorial in line with each other?

I don't hear anything of Representative Taber anymore. Is he in Congress still?

Who was third man at our luncheon with Wherry and Taft? [It was Senator Martin of Pennsylvania, with whom he spent much time in reminiscing about World War I.]

I noticed on a whiskey bottle that it was not to be sold or refilled. I cannot imagine any reason for that other than a racket. Some whiskey bottles are very decorative and can be used as decanters.

In 1951 I wrote the Colonel I was going to the twenty-fifth reunion of my college class. It was usually advisable to get his OK for any travels, because he might have something in mind. The Colonel wrote back an OK and said he had just come back from one of his Yale reunions, noting, "Almost everybody has had a prostate operation."

During the Korean War a message came in declaring, "If we don't get some of those Korean bulls into this country they will become extinct. Is anything being done about it?" The only answer was that if we didn't get men and guns in, the Koreans would be extinct.

Another time an Arabian stallion became a bureau problem. The Colonel was offered a stallion by Ibn Saud during one of his plane trips. He turned it down. When his niece, who raises Arabians, heard of it, she called attention to her interest in the steeds. The Colonel instructed me to get the horse. This necessitated negotiations with the embassy, the king, steamship lines, railroads, the Department of Agriculture and customs. Things got critical when the horse refused to eat at sea or aboard train. He arrived more dead than alive, and it soon developed he should have stood in his Saudi Arabian stall because he was more goat than horse.

The Colonel at one time launched me on an extensive

CHICAGO TRIBUNE PHOTO BY RON BAILEY

H. A. Berens, left, past president of the Du Page County Historical Society, chats with Walter Trohan in the library of the McCormick Museum during the Historical Society's tour.

campaign to have the State Department translate and send overseas various great American documents on independence. When he found this was being done, he kept expanding the list until he found documents the State Department was not sending out, like the Otis Writs of Assistance.

After one of his trips he got interested in having monuments erected at Tripoli to commemorate the daring exploit of Stephen Decatur in the Tripolitan harbors, another off Spithead, England, marking the exploits of the daring Ad-

miral John Paul Jones, and one off France, marking the battle between the *Alabama* and the *Kearsarge.* He noted, "I forget the name of the captain of the *Kearsarge* [John A. Winslow], but Farragut's admiration of him was so enormous as to warrant a monument to him."

The British weren't anxious for a monument to Jones, the French were uninterested in the duel between the *Alabama* and the *Kearsarge,* and the Tripolitans saw nothing in raking up an unfavorable episode in the careers of their Barbary pirate ancestors. Only the Colonel was enthusiastic, and he insisted the State Department put up the money. The State Department was less than enthusiastic. He then said, "I am sure we can negotiate the money by private subscriptions to pay for them." They have still to be erected.

Frequently I got such messages as, "There seem to be delusions of grandeur all over the place in Washington." And, "Wake up those Washingtonians, dead from the neck up, as to the peril they are in."

Many of you are familiar with the Colonel's broadcasts on the Chicago Theater of the Air. All too often they began with some such exciting opening as, "In 1858 the army was armed with the muzzle-loading rifle developed. . . ." But quite often they hit on more pertinent topics. This would bring such messages as, "Response to MacArthur, United Nations and Hope for the Future broadcasts shows that Congress is way behind public opinion. Tip off anybody you can to get out in the lead." Or he would instruct, "Please have someone put my broadcast appearing in last Sunday's *Times-Herald* in the *Congressional Record.*" This would be followed up by, "Be sure to get the text from two-star edition Sunday as I made a little change between editions."

I became something of an expert on decodifying the Colo-

nel's cryptic and ambiguous messages. This task was complicated by the fact that his battery of secretaries had no knowledge of current events, so that Syngman Rhee would, likely as not, come out as Seaman Reed or Chief Justice Fred Vinson as Red Vincent. J. Loy Maloney, former managing editor, often consulted me on the meaning of cryptic messages. Once I received a wire from the Colonel himself, which read, "This is a paragraph from my radio broadcast. What do I mean?"

The Colonel was engagingly frank about his radio talks. Now and then he would have someone write these for him, but he never passed them off as his own. When anyone complimented him on these, he was quick to identify the real author. His reason for these broadcasts can best be explained in his own words. During a pretrial examination in a suit involving the *Times-Herald* a lawyer pressed the Colonel on the broadcasts, finally leading up to the question, "Colonel, why do you make these broadcasts?" The Colonel looked at the ceiling and then turned his eyes directly on those of the lawyer and said, "Vanity, I guess." This blew the point the examiner was trying to make right out of the hearing.

"Please attend Drum funeral as my representative." Such assignments brought me to more funerals in Arlington than most military men. I can't go by the place without hearing the echoes of taps from countless services which I attended as civilian aid. Need I remind you that, in meeting trains and planes, arranging to see the grave of the unknown stranger, the grave of Abigail Adams, various museums, battlefields and points of historic interest, I qualify as the highest-priced civilian aid in Washington.

One of the most dreaded messages came regularly about

once every six months. These always started innocently like, "How about having you and the gang for lunch on Monday, February 4." The first of these ended with the suggestion that two or four men be cut from the bureau. It took weeks to change that decision. When later suggestions came, I was prepared for him. Members of the staff and myself rehearsed the luncheon conversation, spicing it up with inside information from Congress, the departments and the international scene. We kept the conversational ball bouncing on a wide variety of McCormick interests so that he would return to Chicago reporting that the bureau had done a fine job and that he hoped it would continue to do so.

And here are some more of those messages:

When the conspiracy case is finally out of the way, look into the people who have been convicted in other cases and see if they were framed or if they were guilty.

In connection with our many stories on attempts of the Communists to interfere in American activities do not overlook the fact that the English have been and are active in attempting to interfere in American affairs.

After Roosevelt suggested closing the *Tribune* by the Marines, who made the suggestion to get an indictment?

Do you think Summerall would welcome some further gift like a bushel of apples or less, or would it look too much like subsidizing him?

Perhaps one of the most amazing assignments I ever got from the Colonel came out of Entebee, Africa, February 29, 1952, as I was preparing to leave for a Mexican vacation, "Must have accommodations for five rooms Tripoli March 1 or 2 at my convenience stop Absolute must." A similar cable went to W. D. Maxwell, then managing editor in Chicago.

This message reached me at 7 P.M., Entebee time, which

was almost his March 1 deadline. I inquired at the State Department and learned that the American representative at Tripoli was John Stewart Service, about whose loyalty the *Tribune* had carried news and editorials. Nonetheless, any port in a storm, so I had the department cable Service. Then I went to the late General Hoyt Vandenberg, then head of the Air Force, and had him message Colonel F. O. Easley, commander of the air base at Tripoli. Naturally I cabled the hotel. We also contacted British Overseas Airways and the British Information Service. I would have phoned Tripoli, but there was no such line of communication. Meantime, Maxwell busied himself with Reuters, the Associated Press, Pan American Airways and other avenues I have forgotten. All our messages were signed, "Maxwell Trohan." I left for Mexico the next day wondering whether I would have a job when I returned.

Several days later I received a telegram in Oaxaca from Maxwell embodying a cable from the Colonel which read, "Maxwell Trohan complete success stop express appreciation everybody." Later I learned that the Air Force commander had a military guard with band welcome the Colonel on his arrival, cars were provided for transport through the efforts of Service, and the hotel manager had the staff standing by with thermometers in drawn baths. Still later, I found out why the Colonel had upset the Washington bureau and the Chicago office. When I asked him why he sent such an urgent message, he said: "Veysey [Arthur Veysey, the *Tribune's* London correspondent] said we couldn't change our reservations, and I wanted to show him what *Tribune* people can do."

If I seemed to have stressed the curious and the casual, it is because these were the most frequent. None could be

ignored, because the Colonel was right too often when he seemed to be wrongest. As Robert E. Lee, former managing editor, remarked, "The Colonel tosses apparent wild ones out of the twenty-fourth floor window, and they curve across the plate, beautiful strikes."

The day after Pearl Harbor, for example, he sent a message, "The Japanese attack couldn't have taken place if the Hawaiian commanders had been alerted. Why weren't they?" That was before America knew the extent of the blow. In May, 1940 he wrote he had heard that FDR was planning to trade destroyers for bases in the Western Hemisphere. At this time the Navy didn't know anything about it, and, as far as I could ever find out, it was known chiefly to Lord Lothian and Roosevelt. The deal wasn't announced until about a year later.

In 1948 Colonel McCormick was the first to predict that Dewey would be licked if nominated for a second time. Often he sent his correspondents to news centers ahead of the story. The State Department has called the bureau to get the stories he ordered from Indo-China and Indonesia, when those areas exploded, confessing they had no information. His knowledge of history and military operations made him a great editor, if a difficult one. Certainly he had his idiosyncrasies, but they became our idiosyncrasies and we loved him for them, even when we smarted most under them. He was the greater editor for being human and having faults common to all. With all his faults he was a better editor and a better man than those who mocked and derided him.

THOMAS E. FELT

A Proposed Agenda For Illinois Historians

After nearly two years as field representative for the Illinois State Historical Library, Thomas E. Felt has returned to Michigan State University to complete work on his Ph.D. dissertation — a study of Ohio's Marcus Alonzo Hanna. The author is a graduate of Wooster College (Wooster, Ohio) with an M.A. degree from Columbia University (New York City).

THAT HISTORIANS often write only for other historians is a complaint that has become a truism. Yet in one important sense it misses the truth, for American historians, at least, have been notoriously shy in writing about the status of their own accomplishments. Review articles evaluating what has been done in the historiography of a particular field and pointing out possible new approaches or remaining gaps in our knowledge of a topic are eagerly sought by editors but seldom offered by contributors to those historical journals that reach an interested professional audience.

The discussion which follows is intended as a remedy — or at least a palliative — for this condition insofar as it affects the historiography of Illinois. At best it will describe the situation at this time; in any event it is hoped that it will stimulate the circulation of better-formulated thoughts on the subject.[1] The emphasis here will be not on the scope

1. In the preparation of this article the author has received helpful suggestions from a number of scholars and wishes to acknowledge especially the contributions of Clyde C. Walton and members of the staff of the Illinois

or quality of the writing that has been done, and examples of useful or inadequate efforts are offered only by way of illustrating a point. Instead, it will be on work that has not been done, information yet to be gathered, approaches still to be made, and methods not yet fully exploited. An extended critique of past performances may well be justified, but, if only for reasons of space, it has been thought best to concentrate here on the gaps in Illinois history and let the criticism of published writing enter only incidentally or by implication. And finally, it should be noted that problems raised will not always be accompanied by suggestions as to their solutions. Easily available sources are unfortunately not always related or proportionate to the more important problems at hand. It will be assumed for present purposes that the historian who asks worthwhile questions and gives enough thought and ingenuity to exploiting whatever sources are available for their answer will be rewarded with useful results. This is not to say that mention of unused sources is to be neglected. Where they are known to exist and may add encouragement to the prospective investigator, they will be located.

Biography

A survey of published biographies of Illinois leaders makes it quickly apparent that this aspect of the state's his-

State Historical Library; Marguerite J. Pease and Althea Skoekel of the Illinois Historical Survey; Robert M. Sutton, Arthur E. Bestor, J. Leonard Bates and Natalia M. Belting of the University of Illinois; William T. Hutchinson and Bessie Louise Pierce of the University of Chicago; Charles H. Coleman and Donald F. Tingley of Eastern Illinois University; O. Fritiof Ander of Augustana College; Paul M. Angle of the Chicago Historical Society; Hermann Muelder of Knox College; William A. Pitkin of Southern Illinois University and Walter B. Hendrickson of MacMurray College. Their endorsement of the contents is not to be implied, however, and the author assumes all responsibility for omissions and errors in the article.

tory has not been overworked. Political and military figures are traditionally the first to receive attention since their accomplishments seem most closely related to the major crises in the life of the body politic. Yet even here there are sitters for portraits lacking only a painter. The state's first governor, Shadrach Bond, is among them,[2] as are his successors Thomas Ford, Augustus C. French, Joel A. Matteson, William H. Bissell, Richard J. Oglesby, Joseph W. Fifer, and every governor since his time except John Peter Altgeld and Frank O. Lowden. Two recent governors, Dwight Green and Adlai Stevenson, have been the subjects of biographical studies during their lifetimes, but will undoubtedly engage more attention from historians in the future. The list given is not exhaustive, since it ignores the less interesting figures and omits those on whom work is known to be in progress or available in typescript. Graduate theses at the University of Illinois have been done on John Reynolds, Shelby M. Cullom and Thomas Carlin, and a dissertation on Richard Yates, Sr., is now in progress there.[3] The career of the younger Yates, however, has not been studied. As to sources, the papers of Augustus C. French in the State Historical Library, together with the governor's letterbooks in the State Archives, should yield substantial information on his career, and the voluminous papers of Henry Horner, also in the Historical Library, are scheduled for opening in 1962. Many

2. The most ambitious secondary account of Bond's life was written in 1914 by Kinnie A. Ostewig and published in 1929 as the "Life of Col. Shadrach Bond . . ." in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1929* (*Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library,* XXXVI, Springfield, 1929), 187-234. It emphasizes family and personal history rather than his public career.

3. Josephine L. Harper, "John Reynolds, the 'Old Ranger' of Illinois" (Ph.D., 1949); James W. Neilson, "Shelby M. Cullom" (Ph.D., 1959), Deloris Williams, "The Administration of Governor Thomas Carlin of Illinois, 1838-1842" (M.A., 1936).

Oglesby papers are still in family hands and inaccessible for the present. The State Archives contain useful material, and occasionally a great deal of it, on each of the governors.

The state's first lieutenant governor, Pierre Menard, has been honored in many ways by later generations – his home is a state memorial and a statue of him stands on the Statehouse grounds – but not by the biographers. The story of his life has real interest for what it tells of the territorial and early statehood periods in politics, business and Indian relations. Menard was one of the leading figures of his time, and his only shortcomings as a biographer's theme would seem to be that he spoke and wrote in French more often than in English and that he was a man of peace who never shot anybody. The scholar who can forgive these two weaknesses should find Pierre Menard a fascinating subject. Manuscript and other sources at the Historical Library are surprisingly plentiful.

Dr. John F. Snyder, second president of the Illinois State Historical Society, took upon himself the task of contributing a series of short papers on "Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois" to the Society's *Transactions* series. In most cases, his sketches filled the need for information on the men he selected. At least one of them, however, Jesse B. Thomas, certainly deserves more extensive consideration. His roles in the creation of Illinois Territory, in the administration of its laws as territorial judge, in representing the new state as one of its first senators (his political opponent Ninian Edwards was the other), as a leader of the bloc opposing Governor Edward Coles on the slavery issue, and, finally, as an anti-Jackson Democrat, his life in politics (and, incidentally, in business) reflected much of the history of his time through a personality that was far more representative of

its society than those of many of his better-known contemporaries. For the scholar who might be attracted to this subject, it should be added that the Thomas Papers in the State Historical Library include some 225 letters, most of them very substantial in content.[4]

Biographical studies covering the middle years of the nineteenth century are dominated, as is the period itself, by Abraham Lincoln and those men associated with him. Pending the discovery of significant new material, the opportunity for major contributions to the Lincoln story would seem to be closed. His legal career, perhaps the most difficult aspect of Lincoln's life to treat adequately with available sources, is the subject of a book, now in press, by the veteran lawyer John J. Duff. Discoveries of new material are not improbable, however. The Federal Records Center in Chicago, for example, has only recently been recognized as a source of unsuspected riches on this very theme.

At least one prominent Democrat of the nineteenth century has been overlooked. Sidney Breese (1800-1878) was a scholar and a gentleman in an age little known for either. A New Yorker related to several aristocratic families of that state, he came to Kaskaskia in 1820 and, under the sponsorship of Elias Kent Kane (Illinois Secretary of State and later United States Senator), made an early start as an officeholder in his adopted state. A lieutenant colonel in the Black Hawk War and United States Senator from 1843 to 1849, Breese is best remembered for his long and distinguished service on the State Supreme Court, where at the age of seventy-six he wrote the history-making opinion in Munn *vs.* Illinois, the first of the Granger cases. Sources

4. For Snyder's sketch of Thomas, see *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1904* (*Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library,* IX, Springfield, 1904), 514-23.

for a life of Breese in the State Historical Library and the Chicago Historical Society are plentiful.

In the turn-of-the-century period there are a number of biographical possibilities among leading industrialists and merchants, many of whom were also influential in political affairs. The scholar's problem here, however, is that these men are not public figures in the same sense that the political careerist is. They are given less personal attention in the press, and their fields of interest are usually narrower and confined to the destinies of their corporate connections. Both they and their families are often sensitive of their reputations and unused to public controversy. Thus the authorized biography, though no more prevalent for this type of man than any other, is more difficult to appraise or supplement. Without the documentary raw material, the independent student can find little to work with. The lives of George Pullman, Charles T. Yerkes and Potter Palmer, for example, would reward the scholar who could give them detailed study and analysis.

Political and Administrative History

Today's political historian is of a thriving breed, but by no means a thoroughbred. Almost entirely within the past fifty years, he has been crossed from time to time with the political scientist, the economist, the sociologist, and those only recently identified subspecies the social and intellectual historians. In the course of this relatively brief span of years, politics and political history have come to be seen as one aspect of the culture of a democracy. Not since the days of Charles A. Beard, Carl Becker and James Harvey Robinson has it been possible to win a serious audience for

the traditional "straight" political history, for such an approach raises more questions than it answers. With the modification of the older political history has come to some extent a similar modification of approach to traditionally nonpolitical areas of history. American literary history, for example, has never been the same since the publication of Vernon Parrington's very popular and very political *Main Currents in American Thought* — and probably never will be. In short, political history has become a far more complex and realistic story.

Regarding Illinois politics specifically, it might be noted first that its history for the past century has been acted out on a stage that is itself of considerable interest. The state is a textbook case of the "unimetropolitan" type; it has Chicago and it has "downstate," and somehow the twain have met. A careful analysis of urban-rural conflict and compromise would be a major contribution to the understanding of state politics over the past hundred years. It need not be limited to the history of parties: Much of the economic, social and intellectual life of the state is also related to this cleavage. Perhaps in the broadest terms, the question is, which institutions have proven divisive and which have served to cement the interests of the Prairie State and its Windy City? Certainly the party system has been one force for compromise, and yet the conflict continues to express itself in many ways.[5]

State politics may not seem a fruitful hunting ground for the scholar with a flair for diplomatic history, but what game

5. A suggested starting point for such a study would be David R. Derge, "Metropolitan and Outstate Alignments in the Illinois and Missouri Legislative Delegations," *American Political Science Review,* LIII (Dec., 1958): 1051-65. In some respects, the influence of the St. Louis metropolitan area modifies the simple "unimetropolitan" scheme and should not be overlooked.

exists is still at large. Richard Leopold made an appeal for greater attention to the "grass roots" of American foreign policy several years ago,[6] and little has been done since then to outdate his arguments. Studies that attempt an analysis of public opinion — or opinions — on the major issues and the underlying moods that determine those opinions are needed. Descriptive summaries of press opinion, as on American involvement in any one of several wars or alliances, would be useful, though they can only suggest the outlines of an elusive public opinion.[7] The careers of Illinois political leaders in Washington who shared in the creation and criticism of their country's foreign policy would also repay study. Medill McCormick, Robert R. Hitt, James Hamilton Lewis and Walter Fisher come to mind as examples, though in none of these cases do manuscript sources appear to be presently available in any quantity. While never in Washington, the late Colonel Robert R. McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune* cannot be overlooked in any consideration of Illinois and foreign affairs. His papers exist, and a member of the *Tribune* staff is reportedly now at work on his biography.

When the historian looks at state government, he may be of two minds on the question of the best approach to its possibilities. He may prefer the administrative history of a department, or he may consider the area for which a particular department is responsible. Either approach may have its advantages. In some cases, the office itself would seem

6. "The Mississippi Valley and American Foreign Policy, 1890-1941; An Assessment and an Appeal," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXXVII (March, 1951): 625-42.

7. For an example of a press opinion study that, in Leopold's words, "only whets the appetite for more," see John A. Aman, "Views of Three Iowa Newspapers on the League of Nations, 1919-1920," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* XXXIX (July, 1941): 227-85.

to be the obvious focus: a history of the development of the office of the governor, or that of the secretary of state or attorney general. Here are opportunities for studies in administrative and political leadership. A recent survey, by Coleman Ransone, of the office of the governor in the states today will suggest a range of questions that might be included in such a history.[8]

In other cases, the history of the department in question is closely interwoven with the history of the subject it concerns: agriculture, conservation, public welfare, public health, labor or public safety.[9] While in each case there is an administrative history to be written, there is also the suggestion of broader considerations: Where, for instance, is a history of agriculture in this, one of the most productive farming states in the Union? Certainly one is called for and deserves high priority. Although agricultural problems are as often local, regional or national as they are statewide in scope, the farmer must nevertheless be recognized as engaged in a business "affected," as the courts would phrase it, "with a public interest" on the state level and can well be considered in that role. While much of the spade work remains to be done, a surprising amount of it has already been accomplished in the neighboring vineyards of geography and agricultural economics. A recent book on land use and tenure in the Grand Prairie during the last half of the nineteenth century should also prove helpful and suggestive along these lines.[10]

8. Coleman B. Ransone, *The Office of Governor in the United States* (University, Ala., 1956).

9. For brief historical sketches of most of these areas, see Neil F. Garvey, *The Government and Administration of Illinois* (New York, 1958), *passim.*

10. Published this year as Vol. 34 of the *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* the work is by Margaret Beattie Bogue and titled *Patterns from the Sod.* Its bibliography will serve as a guide through much of the relevant literature.

The Department of Public Safety is one of the largest code departments in the state. It is responsible for, among other things, the state correctional system, a historical subject that is as neglected as it is fascinating for what it tells of social attitudes toward the criminal offender. Here is a long history of trial and error, hope and disappointment — and much progress, as well — awaiting the investigator. A reading of the report to the governor of *The Prison System of Illinois,* written over twenty years ago, may serve as a springboard, and Blake McKelvey's *American Prisons* should help fill in the background and suggest comparisons with progress in other states.[11] There is far more to a correctional system than the prisons, however, and the historian would want to look into aspects of criminal law, attitudes toward juvenile and female offenders, probation and parole, employment and education. City and county correctional systems could also be considered in the same picture, however distinct their formal jurisdictions. Judging from the following quotation from a leading penologist writing in 1951, the historian would be welcomed in this field:

> We must be realistic and face the fact that we do not now have the information that we need to predict the future of correctional work in America or to plan for it. We do not know exactly where we are now, and we are not too sure how we got where we are or where we are going.[12]

The Department of Public Welfare has its own story, but behind it lie the post-Civil War years of humanitarian reform concerned with the treatment of the blind, deaf and

11. See Illinois Prison Inquiry Commission, *The Prison System of Illinois* (Springfield, [1937]), and Blake McKelvey, *American Prisons, A Study in American Social History Prior to 1915* (Chicago, 1936).

12. Austin H. MacCormick, "The Future of Correctional Work in America," in Paul W. Tappan, ed., *Contemporary Correction* (New York, 1951).

mentally ill as well as with the almshouses and county poor farms and orphanages. The basic question is: What have this state and the communities, philanthropies and churches within it done for its dependents? A competent analysis of this theme would go far toward providing a history of the social conscience of the state.

The Department of Public Works and Buildings is the second largest of the code departments for the reason that it has charge of one of the most important programs in the state budget: the planning, building and maintaining of state roads and highways. Certainly the modern state highway system has brought changes in the everyday life of the citizen comparable to those credited to the coming of the railroads in an earlier day. The highway story has its technological, political and social aspects, none of which has been explored. It is to be hoped that when the papers of Governor Len Small become available, they will throw some light on the subject.

The Department of Labor is charged with the enforcement of twenty-four specific laws related to working conditions in the state. It represents a major point of contact between labor organizations and state government, and for this reason alone deserves attention. Beyond the department itself lies the whole history of labor organization in the state. Eugene Staley's *History of the Illinois State Federation of Labor* (Chicago, 1930) was written from a position close to its subject in time, and is understandably not without omissions. The story of this organization since 1929, however, has not even been attempted.[13] There are a number of minor

13. Two doctoral dissertations in progress will cover certain aspects of the period: Barbara Newell at the University of Wisconsin on radical labor in Chicago in the 1930's, and Gilbert Morell at the University of Illinois on the Chicago Federation of Labor.

or fringe areas in the state's labor history that might well attract scholars; the story consists of more than organizations, strikes and legislation. It should also be borne in mind, however, that the labor movement itself has never been anything but national, unless it be international. The states have been only sectors on a broad front.

The history of state revenue is as old as the state itself, but as yet it remains unwritten. From the days of liberal donations of federal lands to the present age of the sales tax, it is a theme of basic importance to the understanding of Illinois political, constitutional and economic history. Involving as it does the wonders of valuation and assessment theories, it is not an area likely to be explored successfully by the technically uninitiated, but it is one that calls for expert attention.

From 1819 to the end of the Spanish-American War, the state militia was a home-grown institution with almost nothing of the federalized character of the present National Guard. While the military history of the state is for the most part well covered, the story of the militia has never been brought together in one place and treated with the importance it deserves as a facet of the social and political history of Illinois.

Economic and Social History

Several topics that might also be considered as primarily economic in nature have already been mentioned: agriculture, labor, highways and the revenue system among them. In the traditional domain of the economic historian a number of other suggestions remain to be noted. One obvious gap is in the history of manufacturing. The steel in-

dustry of Chicago would be an excellent subject. Here one is confronted with the same problem that faces prospective biographers of merchants and manufacturers. The work can only be done as extensive company records are made available. That they are not always available is undeniable, but at the same time it cannot be said that the search for such records has been a vigorous one.

Large-scale manufacturing, for all its importance, is a later development. In the beginning was the land. The story of its acquisition, survey and sale in the various sections of the state over a long span of years has never been examined with attention to the process itself. The range of particular circumstances that attended the disposition of public land in Illinois suggests that the available broader studies are lacking in detail or applicability to this state.

Of the means of transportation, railroads and airplanes have been considered rather fully, but busses and trucks, like the highways they depend upon, are as yet without chroniclers. The interurban electric train system of an earlier generation had a brief but significant history that is rapidly being forgotten. Should the papers of a leading actor in the interurban story such as William B. McKinley become available, the historian would find the task doubly rewarding, but some effort to trace the main outlines would be worthwhile in any case. Finally, it might be noted that one of the greatest transportation stories in the entire history of the Mississippi Valley can be followed in today's newspapers — the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

Of the major extractive industries in Illinois, oil has one of the shortest histories, but its importance to the economy of the state in the past generation should not be overlooked. Illinois now holds eighth place among the oil-producing

states in the country, although its first spectacular rise in production came only in the late 1930's. While the oil industry is a complex affair, it is never a dull one, for the rapidly changing technology and an element of speculation have always given it an atmosphere of excitement and suspense.

A general economic history of the state during a period of crisis and change such as the Civil War would be a rewarding task, as the example of Frederick Merk in Wisconsin has shown.[14]

The social historian may sometimes find state boundaries a convenient frame for his investigations, though perhaps the city or region is more often the logical setting. The history of the liquor traffic could be handled appropriately at the state level, and offers a real challenge. "Demon Rum" has a political, economic, theological, social and anti-social history that mirrors a large part of every state's heritage. The polemic literature for some periods is vast, and several aspects of the story are already told, but seldom with the perspective of the patient historian.

The social historian is properly concerned with the role of the arts and recreation of a community, and a number of questions in this area remain to be explored.

As to the early period, Theodore Calvin Pease observed shrewdly that

> the social life of the frontier can be described more voluminously than accurately. Recollections of such merrymakings as the corn-husking, the log-rolling, and the cabin-raising abound, but contemporary descriptions and allusions are infrequent; in the contemporary newspapers they are scarcely mentioned. One wonders whether reminiscence, enforced by the earlier published accounts

14. Frederick Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin during the Civil War Decade* (Madison, 1916).

of frontier life, did not assign them an undue importance, or a general one instead of one confined to certain localities and periods of the frontier movement.[15]

Here, as so often, the historian looks in vain for a way to quantify his material. With the coming of the industrial age, recreation developed more highly organized — and commercialized — forms. Today, when a man indulges in a new hobby he leaves some trace of his activity in the sales records of a business firm or in the tax records of a governmental agency. Even the lonely hunter wears a license on his back as he stalks a prey that has been raised by the state and set loose in a well-defined preserve. The changing fortunes of spectator sports since the Civil War present little problem to the historian, though the recently ended career of baseball's Three-I League, for instance, still invites its annalist.

Whether in sports or any one of a dozen other activities, one of the most significant features of democratic life has always been the voluntary association. The American is known as a joiner, and much of his emotional and intellectual life has been tied up with his lodge, club, class, church, troop, post, circle or team. The social historian has far to go if he is to exploit the possibilities offered by the records of such groups. Occasionally, histories written by group members are useful, but more often they lack even a trace of objectivity. Here, probably more than in any other area, the historian must make other disciplines work for him. Without conscious use of some of the methods and insights of the social scientist, the social historian will find, as he has so often in the past, that the few generalizations he can produce are hardly worth his time.

15. Theodore C. Pease, *The Story of Illinois* (Chicago, 1949 ed.)

What of the arts in Illinois? The forms of art and artists themselves are far too nomadic in their habits to be understood as distinctive aspects of any state's history. The artist may be a part of the society he lives in, but that society has quite different boundaries from those of the state. It is suggested here that the place for the historian to begin is not with a state but with a well-defined society whose structure he can understand, be it rural Mid-America of the 1850's or the city of Chicago of the 1890's. With this kind of focus he can hope to identify the traditions and taboos, the taste-makers and the innovators, and to describe the conflicts among them in such a way that his story takes on life. Without such a focus he will almost certainly come up with a product having the kind of aimless, free-floating quality that characterizes the recently published *History of the Arts in Minnesota.*

Here is a commemorative compilation of biographical sketches of artists who have passed into or out of the state, institutions that have flourished or languished at various points within the state, and the works of men who have set themselves to describe the people and places of Minnesota. The impression it leaves is that the artist has been more an ornament than a living person, a tassel on the curtain rather than an actor on the stage.

By contrast, Bernard Duffey's study of *The Chicago Renaissance in American Letters,* which was published in 1954, builds a story of real interest around a theme: the impact of the metropolis of the Midwest on a group of talented newspapermen and their friends in the years 1914-1927. Ray Ginger, to note another recent example, has taken as his theme the Chicago reformers of the end of the last century and treated it broadly enough to include Louis Sullivan,

Theodore Dreiser and Theodore Thomas as well as the more familiar Altgeld, Addams and Darrow.[16]

Local History

The problem of seeing the artist in relation to his setting in time and place is in part a problem in local history. The same would be true of manufacturing, education or a number of other topics. Most historical problems can be studied from a local angle with profit. Unfortunately, this is seldom done, for the bulk of published local historical writing has been created for different ends.

Between roughly the centennial year of 1876 and the beginning of World War I, local history in the Midwest was not only popular but, for some, financially profitable. Those were the days of the "mug histories" so well described by Solon J. Buck in the introduction to his bibliography of them written almost fifty years ago.[17] This was the generation of the sons of the pioneers, and with their passing the volume of local history publishing was reduced considerably. Today the old commercial county history is a collector's item and doubtless will remain so. The time for rewriting has passed.

If local history is to be revived, the logical format would seem to be the city and town more often than the county. While the population of the state has grown in numbers and mobility, and the role of government has become more important with each decade, the typical county outside the city

16. William Van O'Conner, ed., *The History of the Arts in Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1958); Bernard Duffey, *The Chicago Renaissance in American Letters* (East Lansing, Mich., 1955); Ray Ginger, *Altgeld's America* (New York, 1958).

17. Solon Justus Buck, *Travel and Description, 1765-1865; Together with a List of County Histories, Atlases, and Biographical Collections and a List of Territorial and State Laws* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* IX, Springfield, 1914), 255-76.

has shared in none of these developments. For the twentieth century, at least, the obvious gaps in Illinois local history can be listed by the names of some larger towns whose biographies deserve attention: Belleville, Danville, Decatur, Peoria, Rockford, Rock Island and Moline, Springfield since 1860, and Waukegan, to name only a few. None of these is so small a town as Galesburg, whose history may well serve as a model of its kind. Size, however, is not the major consideration. Hinsdale's centennial history, published in 1949, reveals a pride in local history and a competence in presenting it that is rare in towns with many times its population. Nor was this volume a labor of love contributed by a single individual with funds for publishing; instead, it was a cooperative project of the local Friends of the Library group.[18] Probably the smallest Illinois town to have its own history recorded between book covers is Paloma. Harry L. Wilkey's *Story of a Little Town,* written in 1934, tells of life in a village of forty-four homes in Adams County.[19]

Local history divides itself into two basic types: one is written by and for outsiders and the other is home-grown for local consumption. Neither can replace the other, although the best of each type will share some of the insights of the other. Paul Angle's *Bloody Williamson* is the work of an outsider concerned with local viewpoints and reporting them sympathetically, while at the same time it focuses on conflicts within the county more sharply than a local citizen might care to do. Of the home-grown county histories, a model production is the *History of Lake County* published

18. Earnest Elmo Calkins, *They Broke the Prairie* (New York, 1937); Hugh G. Dugan *et al., Village on the County Line: A History of Hinsdale, Illinois* (Chicago, 1949). Equally as fine as the latter is the centennial *El Paso Story*, sponsored by the El Paso Public Library Board (n.p., 1954).

19. Harry L. Wilkey, *The Story of a Little Town: A History of Paloma, Illinois* (n.p., 1934).

in 1912 under the editorship of Professor John J. Halsey of Lake Forest College. It has the unique distinction of having been produced without benefit of the usual patronage from its biographical subjects.[20]

The appearance of a local history by an outsider is almost always explained by the broad appeal of its theme. This is true of Angle's Williamson County book and of his study of Springfield as well. *Here I Have Lived* is a well-rounded history of Springfield through 1860 that found a commercial publisher interested in Lincoln associations. Similarly, Benjamin Thomas' *Lincoln's New Salem* is local history written as a study of one man's environment. The most interesting and ambitious effort to explore new techniques in local history is the recent work by Merle Curti and others on Trempealeau County, Wisconsin.[21] Here is not only another attempt to test Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis but also an experiment in the application of the social scientist's statistical techniques to the problem. Methodical analyses of manuscript census returns furnished a large part of the study's source material.

Often the outsider's contribution is not presented as history at all, but as a social scientist's analysis of a problem situation. *The Social History of a War Boom Community,* in spite of the title, was designed by its authors, Havighurst and Morgan, as a sociologist's study of the effects on Seneca, Illinois, of the wartime shipyard that was established there in 1943.

Less valuable, although more ambitious, is Herman

20. Paul M. Angle, *Bloody Williamson: A Chapter in American Lawlessness* (New York, 1952); John J. Halsey, ed., *History of Lake County* (Chicago, 1912).

21. Merle Curti *et al., The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1959). For previous studies similar to this, see their notes on p. 3.

Lantz's *The People of Coal Town.*[22] It is to be hoped that the historian will encourage additional community studies of this sort, and profit by the examples available to him. If they are not intended as histories in themselves, they are often among the most useful sources for the historian. More than that, as the meeting ground of the social scientist and the historian, the community study can inspire and assist both by an exchange of knowledge, methods and insights. In each of the disciplines there might be a wider recognition of the truth, as Dean Roy Nichols phrased it, that "the forces which mold the destiny of nations are generated in recognized localities – they do not spring up spontaneously over the vast areas occupied by nations nor are they generated in capitals." If it is a kind of "historical atomic exploration" that is needed, this does not mean that every atom must be accounted for. The only sensible approach, he suggests, is through improved methods of fragmentation and sampling.[23] And this, in turn, presupposes interdisciplinary co-operation of the kind practiced in connection with Bessie Pierce's *History of Chicago,* which is being prepared by the University of Chicago's Social Science Research Committee. A similar approach has been started recently at Southern Illinois University, designated as the Mississippi Valley Investigation and headed by a geographer.

Up to this point the discussion has been confined to questions of the content of Illinois history, rather than to its form or its potential for publication. Yet one of the most fre-

22. Benjamin P. Thomas, *Lincoln's New Salem* (Springfield, Ill., 1934; revised ed., New York, 1954); Robert J. Havighurst and H. Gerthron Morgan, *The Social History of a War Boom Community* (New York, 1951); Herman R. Lantz, *The People of Coal Town* (New York, 1958).

23. Roy F. Nichols, "Postwar Reorientation of Historical Thinking," *American Historical Review,* LIV (Oct., 1948): 78-79.

quently cited wants in this field is not fresh material but a fresh treatment of the known facts within the covers of one volume. Implied here is a criticism of Theodore C. Pease's *The Story of Illinois,* which with the help of a revision in 1949 has been the standard short history since 1925. Unquestionably another writer today might improve on Pease's style, give fuller treatment of agricultural and other economic topics, and attempt to give more organization and interpretation to the period since 1918. On the other hand, he might fail to match some of the very substantial qualities in the earlier work. To be concise, comprehensive, accurate and charming all at once is no small order.

Another challenge is the pictorial history. Here the point of departure would be Jay Monaghan's *This Is Illinois,* published in 1949 by the University of Chicago Press for the Illinois State Historical Society. Unfortunately for anyone projecting a work of this kind on a small budget, our standards for picture stories are set by the lavish color displays of *Life* magazine. But should another attempt similar to Monaghan's be made, some lessons from the magazines might be well taken: A more generous budget should allow a greater number of pictures, and there should be a somewhat heavier thread of narrative text.

Two useful tools for the scholar and teacher that are still lacking are an adequate bibliography of Illinois history and a historical atlas of the state. The bibliography might be issued in serial form, at least at first, and would be most useful if it directed its attention to the needs of the adult reader and researcher. This would require not only selectivity but brief annotations and cross references. Fortunately, the need for a careful checklist of early Illinois imprints should soon be met by Dr. Cecil Byrd of Indiana University. That

a bibliography would be outdated in time is an incidental objection, for one of the functions of such a work is to stimulate interest in its subject. In any case, no serious student halts his researches with even a recently published bibliography. The need for an atlas should be obvious. History cannot be studied without maps; maps require expert interpretation for proper use, and the early or special maps of great utility are often extremely scarce in their original form. Modern offset presses should be able to produce a small edition of sufficiently large maps at a cost that would be quite reasonable considering the lasting usefulness of the project.

For a textbook in Illinois history, the first prerequisite would be a state law requiring the teaching of the subject at a specified level. Without this, no publisher would dare to venture his capital on such a text. At present, state history is taught, if at all, somewhere between the fourth and eleventh grades. The director of the State Historical Society's Student Historian program is able to meet this situation to some extent with the occasional *Stories from Illinois History* pamphlets for the elementary grades, the magazine *Illinois History* at the junior high level, and an adaptable series of teaching kits. But little more than this can be done as long as the age level of the audience continues to range as widely as it does now.

The foregoing observations have been intended only as a beginning, and it would be inappropriate to conclude them on any note of finality. Better, perhaps, would be a plea and a warning to prospective researchers in any of these areas: Whatever your topic, do not assume that you are the only one interested in it or that you know where all the relevant materials are located. At the least, remember that

there are three institutions in the state dedicated to the task of aiding research and researchers in Illinois history: the Illinois State Historical Library in the Centennial Building, Springfield; the Illinois Historical Survey at the University of Illinois, Urbana; and the Chicago Historical Society, Clark Street and North Avenue, Chicago. Each of these is staffed with professional personnel, each is stocked with an almost unimaginable variety of raw materials for the historian, and each tries to serve as a clearinghouse of information on work in progress. By keeping in touch with these institutions, the scholar can find the help from which he might otherwise be isolated. One contact can lead to another. It may be that eventually you will find a book collector or local librarian to be your closest collaborator. You may discover the riches of the Newberry Library, the State Archives, or the University of Chicago, or you may uncover a kinship with a faculty member at one of the colleges in the state. But if at the same time you have let it be known in Chicago, Springfield and Urbana exactly what you are up to, you may be assured that you are not working in complete isolation or entirely without appreciation. The pleasures of co-operation are at least as great as the profit it can bring, and the list of co-operating scholars is never likely to be overcroweded. "The harvest indeed is great, but the laborers are few."

O. FRITIOF ANDER

Law and Lawlessness In Rock Island Prior to 1850

Professor of history at Augustana College, Rock Island, O. Fritiof Ander is well known for his studies of Scandinavian emigration to America. His books include The Cultural Heritage of the Swedish Immigrant, The Building of Modern Sweden *and* T. N. Hasselquist. *He has long been an active member of the State Historical Society and was one of the founders of the* Illinois Junior Historian, *which has since become the very popular* Illinois History *magazine.*

A FRONTIER TOWN or pioneer community of more than a hundred years ago was often associated with Indian raids and lawlessness, and an old river town with river thugs and fights, but in the early history of the city of Rock Island, law and order preceded the organization of local government. The presence of United States troops at Fort Armstrong — located opposite the town on an island in the Mississippi — prevented Indian raids and discouraged river pirates. Furthermore, deputy sheriffs were serving the community before it had any appreciable number of settlers, since the area had been a part of other organized counties before Rock Island County government was set up in 1833. Thus, by the time the town of Stephenson (later Rock Island) was founded, Rock Island County government had been established for almost five years, and that of the state for almost twenty.

On October 21, 1837, pioneers of the growing settlement

gathered at a schoolhouse to organize the town of Stephenson. A week later a board of trustees was formed, with Henry Powers as president and H. G. Reynolds as clerk. They were sworn into office by Miles W. Conway, justice of the peace for Stephenson Township.[1] The board of Stephenson immediately adopted a few simple laws which were to be enforced by town constables.

Two days after Stephenson was officially organized, the board of trustees selected Thomas F. Spencer as the first constable. He took the oath of office on December 8[2] and, although the records are fragmentary, seems to have continued in office until John A. Boyer was appointed on January 7, 1840.[3]

The duties and powers of the constable were varied though not strenuous, and he was required to give bond "for the faithful discharge of his duties."[4] He served as collector of taxes, fines, forfeitures and penalties, and had power to arrest anyone refusing to pay a fine or assessment and to imprison such a person in the county jail for a period not to exceed twelve hours for every five dollars of the fine.[5] (On April 6, 1841, the board of trustees decided to separate the office of tax collector from that of constable.[6]) The county jail had been built by J. W. Spencer in 1836 at the approximate site of the present courthouse. It was a log building, two stories high and twenty-two feet square, part of which

1. Records of the Corporation of the Town of Stephenson, Oct. 21, 1837 to May 31, 1841; Records of the Town of Rock Island, April 6, 1841 to Nov. 2, 1845, p. 1. The town of Rock Island — whose boundaries included the plat of Stephenson — was chartered by the legislature in 1841. By 1845 population was estimated at 1,500 people, and four years later Rock Island government was reorganized under a new city charter.
2. Records of the Town of Stephenson, 1837-1841, p. 5.
3. *Ibid.*, 33.
4. Ordinance of Dec. 9, 1837, *ibid.*, 9.
5. *Ibid.*, 11.
6. *Ibid.*, 54.

burned two years later. A brick addition, attached to the jail after the fire, was probably used by the jailor as a home.[7]

Few persons coveted the job of constable since there was no stated salary and income depended on the fees collected and on occasional special allowances. Consequently, there were no less than sixteen town constables in Rock Island between 1837 and 1848. The minutes of town meetings indicate the nature of the "allowances" for the peace officers. On November 9, 1840, for example, the town board allowed the retired constable, John A. Boyer, the sum of $1.00 for the removal of a nuisance;[8] several weeks earlier, Constable David Haws had been allowed $3.00 for unspecified services.[9] Two similar allowances are mentioned in later minutes of the town board: Constable E. P. Reynolds was granted $2.00 for the removal of two dead hogs, on October 4, 1842,[10] and Constable G. R. Grover was granted $2.50 for the removal of nuisances on August 18, 1849.[11] In addition to these allowances, city peace officers were permitted to collect various fines for minor offenses of which no record was kept.[12]

The laws in Stephenson were few. On December 9, 1837, the board of trustees decreed that the town's citizens could not build indiscriminately wherever they pleased, declaring that any building erected on the common square or on public land, or in any street, alley or road within the town was a public nuisance. If such buildings were not removed by the owner upon request, the ordinance stated, they were to be

7. *The Illustrated Souvenir of Rock Island County* (Rock Island, 1845), 7.
8. Records of the Town of Stephenson, 1837-1841, p. 49.
9. *Ibid.*, 45.
10. Records of the Town of Rock Island, 1841-1845, p. 151.
11. Records of the Town of Rock Island, 1845-1852, Book B, Aug. 22, 1849.
12. *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1850.

removed by the constable, who was to collect for his services from the owner or owners.[13]

Other ordinances of 1837 outlawed horse racing and gambling within the city limits and established fines against gambling violators, including the owners of the house, grocery store or shop in which betting took place. Violators were subject to a fine of $5.00.

The discharge of all firearms, firecrackers, torpedoes or rockets was punishable by a $5.00 fine unless the action had been previously approved by the board of trustees. A similar fine was assessed against anyone who disturbed the peace.[14] Later the ordinance against disturbing the peace was broadened to forbid hallooing, shouting, bawling, screaming, profane or obscene language, fighting, dancing, singing, whooping, quarreling or any other unusual noises or sounds that might disturb the neighborhood.[15]

On May 7, 1841, the town board declared that pigs and hogs running loose were a public nuisance. Unpenned animals were to be impounded by the constable, and if not called for within ten days the constable was to sell them at public auction to pay for their keep and his fee.[16] This ordinance raised such a furor among the many townspeople who owned pigs that it was repealed on December 7, 1843[17] — only to be revived five years later, September 11, 1848.[18]

Two other uncommon "public nuisances" received the attention of the board in 1841. On June 22 the gunpowder stored in the Powers warehouse was declared a public nui-

13. Records of the Town of Stephenson, 1837-1841; also Records of the Town of Rock Island, 1845-1852, Book B, 13.
14. Restated in *ibid.*, 16-17.
15. *Ordinances of 1856, City of Rock Island,* Art. 4, Sec. 3.
16. Records of the Town of Stephenson, 1837-1841, pp. 66-67.
17. Records of the Town of Rock Island, 1841-1845.
18. Records of the Town of Rock Island, 1845-1852, Book B, 40.

sance, and the constable was instructed to remove it at all hazards. In the future, gunpowder was to be stored in the town only with the consent of the board of trustees.[19] On July 3 all liquor, spirituous or vinous, in quantities over one pint was designated as a public nuisance when it was sold without a license; it was also the constable's duty to enforce this ordinance.[20]

There are few extant records of actual violations of the law in the city of Rock Island since the constables did not keep records of the minor crimes for which they retained the fees and fines. The earliest known lawlessness in the town was recorded in the *Rock Island Banner and Stephenson Gazette* of February 27, 1840, in the form of a notice, which reads as follows:

$20 Reward

Broke away from the custody of the Constable on Saturday of the 22nd inst., a young man by the name of Angustus Harrington, charged with stealing eighty dollars in money. He is about 19 years of age, 5 feet 6 or 8 inches high, slim made; fair hair; had on when he went away, a blue jeans tight bodied coat, and a net cap. The above reward will be given for his apprehension if delivered to me in Stephenson.

William Frizzell
Const.

The year 1840 seems from newspaper reports to have been the most lawless in the early period of Rock Island's history. On April 16 the *Banner* announced that Meshack Rose had been arrested and placed in the county jail for selling a horse stolen in Warren County.[21] Two weeks later the editor wrote a short editorial entitled "Swindler and Deadbeats," in which he warned all readers that Lyster Wallis, J. Ogden,

19. Records of the Town of Stephenson, 1837-1841, p. 100.
20. *Ibid.*, 102-4.
21. *Rock Island Banner & Stephenson Gazette,* April 16, 1840.

S. G. Peoples and Samuel Sutton "had not paid their just debts to this newspaper."[22] Oddly, the editor devoted more space to the horse thieves, swindlers and deadbeats than he did to Joseph Gerrard, the first murderer in the town of Stephenson.

Gerrard was charged with killing one Z. Mayhew with an axe on May 22, 1840. He was brought to trial in October, found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to the state prison for the term of one year.[23] The jury did not believe that sufficient evidence had been presented to warrant a conviction for murder. Although Gerrard was given a very light sentence, his lawyer entered an appeal of judgment, and Gerrard was bound over to the next term on a $10,000 bond. At the opening of the May, 1841 term of the circuit court, Gerrard won an acquittal on both the manslaughter and murder charges, and the prosecuting attorney was overruled in his request for a new trial. Before the court adjourned, however, the case was reopened, in spite of protests by the defending attorney. At the next court term, in October, 1841, Gerrard was again found guilty of manslaughter; he was fined $1.00 and sentenced this time to three years in the penitentiary.

On the basis of the record, Gerrard appears to have been tried twice for the same crime. But the original jury, on finding him guilty of manslaughter, had neglected to lay aside the murder indictment, thus leaving that indictment still open for trial. On the first retrial in which Gerrard was acquitted of the manslaughter charge, the murder indictment was dismissed without an actual trial. As no actual indictment had been issued for manslaughter, the

22. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1840.

23. *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1840; *The Upper Mississippian* (Stephenson), Oct. 29, 1840.

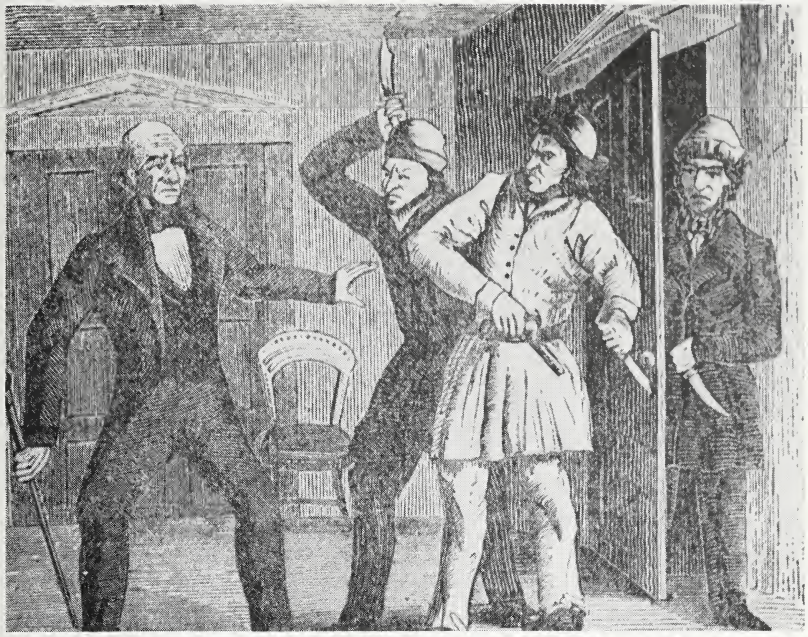
way was left clear, because of the irregularities in the first case, for the prosecuting attorney to demand an indictment on that charge and a new trial.[24] Thus ended the town's first major crime story.

In the spring of 1841, county residents were warned by the *Upper Mississippian* that counterfeit notes were being passed in the lower end of the county.[25] The counterfeiters were caught during the summer and brought to trial in the fall term of the circuit court. One of the counterfeiters, a Samuel Cluse, was found guilty and sentenced to a four-year prison term. The December 9 *Upper Mississippian* carried a story on Cluse, who made a full confession of his activities after he had been sentenced. He gave a detailed account of all the methods used by his confederates and was emphatic in warning others not to follow his path, for he himself was, he said, an example that crime did not pay.

In 1842 the most serious "crimes" reported in the Rock Island newspaper were such acts of vandalism as destroying the town's shade trees.[26] On November 7 of that year a complaint was lodged against Constable Reynolds by Erastus Babbit, who accused the Constable of throwing stones, clubs and brickbats into his yard and of breaking the Sabbath. The town board discussed the charges and decided that Constable Reynolds had not violated any laws.[27]

The years of 1843 and 1844 were peaceful ones. Not a record of lawlessness exists. But on July 17, 1845, the *Upper Mississippian and Rock-Island Republican* devoted space to a short news item which reported that a man by the name

24. Law Record of the Circuit Court of Rock Island County, Book 2, pp. 61-280.
25. *The Upper Mississippian,* April 8, 1841.
26. *Ibid.,* June 16, 1842.
27. Records of the Town of Rock Island, 1842-1844, pp. 153-54.



"Murderers Attacking Col. Davenport." This is the first of a series of four drawings with their captions from the 1856 edition of Edward Bonney's account of the murder in his book The Banditti of the Prairies.

of Kingston and his three sons were in jail for stealing bacon.[28]

Earlier that summer perhaps the most dramatic episode in Rock Island's early legal history took place. On July 4, Colonel George Davenport – who had come to Rock Island in 1816 as sutler for Fort Armstrong – was beaten to death in his home on the island. Davenport was one of the most respected citizens of the area, and though none of his murderers was from Rock Island, they were tried there, and the public came to associate the killers with the town.

The murderers were soon identified as members of a band of thieves who had been terrorizing six northwestern states. On the day of the murder they had expected the Davenport family to attend a July Fourth celebration in Rock Island and had planned to rob the Colonel's home during the family's absence. But Davenport did not accompany the rest

28. *The Upper Mississippian and Rock-Island Republican,* July 17, 1845.

of his family and household staff. When he discovered the intruders, they forced him to open his safe, which yielded less than $1,000. Enraged, the bandits attacked Davenport, hoping to make him reveal the location of more money. When their tortures proved unsuccessful, they fled and left the Colonel to die. But his cries were heard by picknickers on the island, who summoned help. Davenport lived long enough to describe three of his attackers.

The search for the murderers was led by the famed detective Edward Bonney, and by October, five of the men implicated in the plot had been captured and put in the county jail.[29] Before they came to trial, however, a near hysteria spread over the town when it was rumored that the rest of the "robber band" would try to free the imprisoned men. Several acts of vandalism added to the general unrest, and the city appointed a guard of night watchmen, with Nathaniel Belcher as captain.[30] The city board also appealed to Governor Thomas Ford for two hundred stands of muskets with bayonets and ball cartridges, but the request was denied, and, fortunately, the anticipated jailbreak did not materialize.[31] Earlier fears that the killers would be lynched also proved unfounded.

The Rock Island newspaper devoted little space to the actual trial, which began October 6, but the court records

29. See George W. Wickstrom, *The Town Crier* (Rock Island, 1948), 27-32; Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, eds., *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Rock Island County* (Chicago, 1914), I: 724; *A History of the Murder of Colonel George Davenport . . . and an Account of the Arrest of the Murderers . . . together with the Trial . . . at the October Term of the Circuit Court of Rock Island County . . .* (Galena, 1845).

In 1850 Bonney immortalized the episode in his book *The Banditti of the Prairies . . .* , which he published in Chicago.

The author is especially indebted to Attorney Dorothea O'Dean for her assistance in checking the court records of the Davenport case.

30. Records of the Town of Rock Island, 1845-1852, Book B, 4-5.

31. *Ibid.*, 9.

"Draging [sic] Col. Davenport Up Stairs."

are extant, as are numerous secondary accounts. Four of the six men indicted for Davenport's murder were brought to court in irons; they were assigned counsel and immediately entered a plea of not guilty. John Long, Aaron Long, and Grandville Young asked for a change of venue, which was denied by Presiding Judge Thomas C. Browne. Young then sought a separate trial, but this request, too, was turned down. John Baxter was granted a continuance, but the judge quickly overruled an attempt to quash the indictment against him. A qualified jury was finally sworn in, and on

October 10 John and Aaron Long and Grandville Young were found guilty and sentenced to hang on October 29, some time between 10 A.M. and 4 P.M. The court ordered that the body of John Long be given to Dr. Patrick Gregg, that the body of Aaron Long should go to Dr. Egbert S. Barrows and that of Grandville Young to Dr. Reuben Knox.[32]

By the day of the hanging, excitement in Rock Island was high. According to the *Upper Mississippian and Republican,* people had begun to throng into town the evening before, and by the morning of the twenty-ninth, the streets were so packed that the sheriff found it necessary to have them patrolled. At ten o'clock the sheriff and the guards paraded through town to the strains of martial music, preparatory to the march from the jail to the gallows. At 12:30 the guard formed at the jail, under orders of Captain Belcher. They stood in a hollow square composed of over one hundred thirty men, all well armed. A half hour later, the prisoners, well dressed and neat, were brought out of the building. John Long, for instance, was wearing "a blue dress coat and pantaloons, light summer vest, thin boots, black cravat, and black hat."

The three prisoners marched to the gallows to the tune of a special dirge which had been written by George P. Abell, a local composer who was also the conductor of the band. When the condemned men arrived at the gallows — which was ten to twelve feet above the ground with a platform where fifteen to twenty spectators could stand — the Rev. F. A. Haney introduced John Long to the audience, for each of the three men was to make a public statement from the gallows. John Long declared that Aaron Long

32. Law Record of the Circuit Court of Rock Island County, Book 2, pp. 393-467.

"Torturing Col. Davenport."

and Grandville Young were innocent and that he and three others – William Fox, Theodore Brown and Robert Birch – were the only guilty ones. Nevertheless, he insisted that he had not been fairly tried. After John Long finished his talk, the sheriff introduced Aaron Long, who denied having any part in the murder. Grandville Young, when his time came to speak, appealed to his friends to rescue him. At 3:30 the traps were sprung, and John Long and Grandville Young immediately plunged to their deaths. Aaron Long's rope broke, and he was forced to endure the procedure a second time. Even after the first rope had broken, Aaron Long still denied any knowledge of the murder. A curious afterthought of the John Long case is that the jury did not return a true bill on the murder indictment until after John Long had been tried and sentenced.[33]

After John Baxter was granted a continuance in October, he was released from jail on a $5,000 bond put up for him by Edward Bonney (the detective who tracked down John

33. *The Upper Mississippian and Rock-Island Republican,* Oct. 30, 1845; Law Record of the Circuit Court of Rock Island County, Book 3, pp. 46-58.

Long and his confederates), Joseph Johnson, Patrick Gregg, Nathaniel Belcher and David Haws. Each of the five bondsmen posted $1,000. Baxter was soon brought to trial in Rock Island County, found guilty and sentenced to hang on November 18, between 10 A.M and 4 P.M.[34] However, the State Supreme Court found a writ of error in the case, and the sentence was suspended for retrial.[35] In a special term of the circuit court, the case was placed on the docket by orders of the Supreme Court, and a change of venue to Warren County was granted. Baxter was tried there in 1846, found guilty and sentenced to hang, but his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.[36]

A fifth man named in the original murder indictment, Robert Birch, was brought before the Rock Island County Circuit Court in a special November term, where he pleaded not guilty. He was brought into court in irons since the authorities feared he might try to escape. Birch was granted a continuance until the special February term of 1846, at which time he was granted a change of venue to Knox County, where he was placed in jail. He escaped before he could be tried, but the indictment remained on the Rock Island County docket until the September term of 1849, when it was stricken with leave to reinstate.[37] At the same time the indictments against William Fox, who had never been caught, were also dropped, with the same reservation.[38]

Four more indictments connected with the Davenport

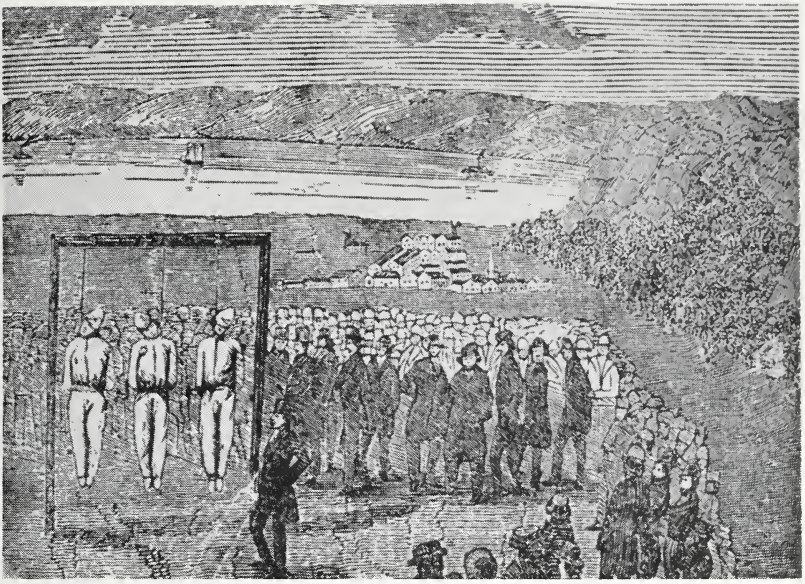
34. Law Record of the Circuit Court of Rock Island County, Book 3, pp. 55-66.

35. *The Upper Mississippian and Rock-Island Republican,* Nov. 20, 1845.

36. Law Record of the Circuit Court of Rock Island County, Book 3, p. 69; *The Monmouth Atlas,* May 14, 1847; H. F. Kett, pub., *Past and Present of Rock Island County* . . . (Chicago, 1877), 128.

37. Law Record of the Circuit Court of Rock Island County, Book 3, pp. 56-284.

38. *Ibid.,* 284.



"Execution of the Two Longs and Young." The artist evidently used his imagination for this picture, as well as for the others, because it differs greatly from the eyewitness accounts.

case were also brought before the October, 1845 term of the circuit court. These indictments were drawn against William H. and George Grant Redding, one against each man for being an accessory to murder *before* the fact, and another against each for being an accessory to murder *after* the fact. Two continuances were granted,[39] and at the special February, 1846 term, the court ordered that "editors and publishers of newspapers be prohibited from publishing the evidence on the trial of this case pending at the present term . . . or [from] commenting on the same unless permission be given them by the judge or the state's attorney of this circuit."[40] When the defendants were brought into the court, they asked permission to be unshackled from then on. Their request was denied for purposes of security, and the case was continued until the May term, at which time they were found not guilty of the more serious charge.[41]

39. *Ibid.,* 57-65.
40. *Ibid.,* 60.
41. *Ibid.,* 70-89.

George Redding then pleaded not guilty to the charge of being an accessory to murder after the fact and again was found not guilty. William Redding pleaded guilty to the lesser charge and was sentenced to one year at the Alton penitentiary, one week of which he was to serve in solitary confinement and the rest at hard labor. He was also fined $1.00 and costs.[42]

From the confessions and testimony of the accused men and from their conversations with Bonney, who became a member of the gang in order to effect the capture of the murderers, it appears that John Long, Robert Birch and William Fox were Davenport's actual attackers. Aaron Long is generally agreed to have stood outside the house as a guard. Theodore Brown – mentioned by John Long, and again at one point by Birch, as one of the murderers – was never identified and possibly never existed. The other men connected with the affair – John Baxter, Grandville Young and the two Reddings – were involved only in planning the robbery and helping the others escape or in withholding knowledge of the affair.

Before the final court hearings of the Davenport killers, Rock Island County citizens had become sensitive about the notoriety their community had undeservedly acquired. Even the newspaper which had reported the first hanging in great detail barely mentioned the attempted jailbreak of Baxter and Birch and a man named Kingsbury, which took place on Sunday, January 18, 1846.[43] By 1848, the editor of the paper complained "that the press everywhere ought to publish no more on this subject."[44]

Two indictments were returned that year aginst Harrison

42. *Ibid.*, 56-92.
43. *The Upper Mississippian and Rock-Island Republican,* Jan. 20, 1846.
44. *Ibid.,* Oct. 6, 1848.

King and Anthony Butcher on the charge of keeping a gaming house. They pleaded guilty and were fined $5.00 each and court costs.[45]

There is little evidence of other lawlessness before 1850, although Constable Grover was rebuked by the city council in 1849 for an unwarranted violation of the swine act.[46]

The problems of law enforcement in Rock Island were never serious, but the problems of finding and keeping a peace officer remained difficult. The town board was so desperate that it sometimes appointed constables to the office without even inquiring whether the appointee wished to serve; few, not unexpectedly, refused. This situation no doubt led to the creation of the office of city marshal in 1848 or 1849. William S. Morris became Rock Island's first marshal, but his tenure, too, was short, and he was soon replaced by B. J. Cobb. The duties of the marshal, unfortunately, were no more challenging than those of the constable, though the marshal was nevertheless obliged to give a bond of $500 for "the faithful performance" of his duties.[47] Among these was the requirement that he "visit all groceries, ball alleys and billiard rooms once a week," under penalty of a $2.00 fine; any person or persons preventing the marshal from so doing was liable to a $5.00 fine.[48]

In 1849 the town board devoted one entire ordinance to "swine running at large"; the ordinance declared that pigs and hogs running at large constituted a public nuisance, and provided a $1.00 fine for every twenty-four hours that unpenned swine were permitted to run loose. The city

45. Law Record of the Circuit Court of Rock Island County, Book 3, pp. 53, 85.
46. Records of the Town of Rock Island, 1845-1852, Book B, May 5, 1849.
47. *Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1849.
48. *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1850.

marshal was charged with the duty of capturing and confining such animals, which, if unclaimed by a specified time, were to be sold at public auction for an amount sufficient to cover all charges. Anyone interfering with the marshal in the performance of this duty was subject to a fine of $10 to $25.[49]

Since many of the city ordinances adopted before 1849 had never been recorded, several were combined and put on the books that year as part of Police Ordinance No. 5. This law prohibited such activities as the operation of gaming houses and gambling, hallooing and shouting in houses, fires in public places, indecent exposure, as well as "immoderate riding and driving."[50] On January 25, 1850, probably through the efforts of church people, the town board took another stand for law and order when it decreed that all groceries, bowling alleys and billiard rooms were to be closed on the Sabbath.[51]

A study of the Rock Island County Circuit Court records reveals that no mention was usually made of the place where crimes were committed or of the residence of the person or persons involved. It has been possible to determine some residences through old tax records, but there usually is no other source for learning the place of the crime. Even the original warrants and summonses did not always include the county, nor did they always state the party for whom the warrants were issued. No records were kept of the testimony of witnesses. In a few cases, such as the Davenport murder,

49. The 1849 ordinances cited here and in succeeding notes were later codified as Ordinances of 1856, City of Rock Island. See Ordinance 6, Secs. 1-3.

50. *Ibid.*, Ordinance 5.

51. Records of the Town of Rock Island, 1845-1852, Book B, Jan. 25, 1850.

it is possible to establish the location of the crime, but of the seventy-three criminal cases brought before the Circuit Court of Rock Island County in the period from 1837 to 1850 very few can definitely be said to have been committed in either the town of Stephenson or the city of Rock Island.[52]

The early settlers of the town came from established communities where they had long enjoyed the benefits of law and order, and when they came west they did not want to abandon those benefits. They came with their wives and families in hope of establishing new homes in a peaceful community. They were men of God. Many were deeply religious and were desirous of protecting and strengthening their religious faiths. Consequently, they began to organize churches as early as 1836. This religious atmosphere of the town no doubt contributed to its good record. Another contributing factor was the slow, steady growth of the community, which never suffered from the problems of the "boom town." Rather, as Rock Island grew, its deepening roots were nurtured in an appreciation of law and order.

52. Of the seventy-three criminal cases in the circuit court there were sixteen convictions and four changes of venue. The cases included six charges of pulling down buildings, with no convictions, and three charges of inciting to riot, with the same result. Neither were there any convictions in the following fourteen cases heard by the court: five of arson, three of perjury, two of false imprisonment, one of embracery, one of malicious mischief, one of setting fire to the prairie and one of forgery.

Of ten indictments for assault and battery, there were three convictions. On the two charges of accessory to murder, there was one conviction, while the seven indictments for keeping a gaming house resulted in three convictions. Of seventeen cases of larceny, three of the accused were found guilty. Four of the ten people tried for murder were hanged; and one man indicted for manslaughter was imprisoned. The highest rate of conviction was for the possession of counterfeit money; two of the three convicted counterfeiters drew prison terms.

Before adoption of the Constitution of 1848, the circuit court heard all criminal cases not handled by justices of the peace; the county court — or, more precisely, the court of county commissioners — had no criminal jurisdiction.

Lincolniana Notes

Earliest Known Lincoln-Black Hawk War Discharge

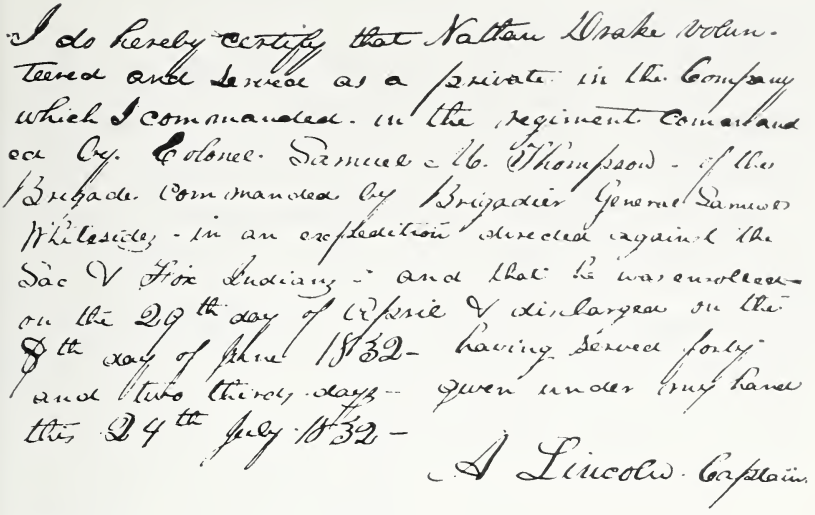
A Black Hawk War discharge entirely in the handwriting of Abraham Lincoln and dated a week earlier than that for any other member of his company was recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library. It was made out for Nathan Drake, who enlisted at Beardstown, Illinois, and is dated July 24, 1832. Four other Lincoln-Black Hawk War discharges are known to exist, but all of them are printed forms which Lincoln filled in.

The text of the discharge, in Lincoln's familiar hand, reads:

> I do hereby certify that Nathan Drake volunteered and served as a private in the company which I commanded, in the regiment commanded by Colonel Samuel M. Thompson, in the Brigade commanded by Brigadier General Samuel Whiteside, in an expedition directed against the Sac and Fox Indians — and that he was enrolled on the 29th day of April and discharged on the 8th day of June 1832 — having served forty and two thirds days— given under my hand this 24th July 1832—
>
> A. Lincoln Captain

Lincoln had returned from the war only a week before this paper was written. He was a candidate for the legislature, and with the election less than three weeks away he had started to campaign — speaking at Pappsville, eleven miles west of Springfield, and at other places. It is possible therefore that Lincoln gave the discharge to Drake at some place other than New Salem. A lengthy check of the available records of Sangamon, Menard, Cass and Morgan counties and of newspapers and other contemporary sources has failed to supply any information about Drake. Although he joined Lincoln's company at Beardstown, the rendezvous point, it is possible that he was not a resident there but was just passing through. If so, it seems likely that, having finished his service and not being anxious to remain in the area any longer, he sought out Lincoln so that he might convert his claim into cash and be on his way.

As was the practice at the time, volunteer soldiers received no


I do hereby certify that Nathan Drake Volunteered and served as a private in the Company which I commanded in the regiment Commanded on by Colonel Samuel M. Thompson of the Brigade Commanded by Brigadier General Samuel Whiteside in an expedition directed against the Sac & Fox Indians and that he was enrolled on the 29th day of April & discharged on the 8th day of June 1832 having served forty and two thirty days given under my hand this 24th July 1832

A Lincoln Captain

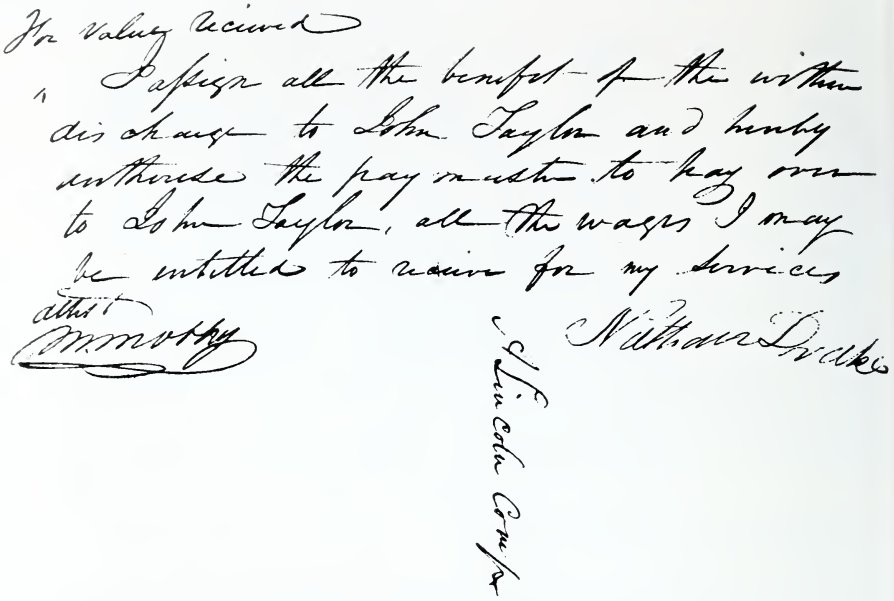
The discharge Captain Lincoln wrote for Private Nathan Drake.

pay until months after the end of their service, when United States Army paymasters toured the home counties of the troops. In this instance, Paymaster T. P. Andrews did not arrive in Springfield until January 4, 1833 to pay the claims of the men who had served in the first two volunteer armies of the Black Hawk War. In the meantime, however, Drake had disposed of his. On the back of the discharge is this notation in the handwriting of John Taylor:

> For value received I assign all the benefit of the within discharge to John Taylor and hereby authorize the paymaster to pay over to John Taylor all the wages I may be entitled to receive for my services.
>
> Attest M. Mobley. Nathan Drake.

Taylor was a former sheriff of Sangamon County, a Springfield merchant, one of the original promoters of Petersburg and Taylorville and later receiver for the United States Land Office in Springfield. Mordecai Mobley, who attested the endorsement, was a Springfield tavern keeper. Later, in 1849, he, too, became a land office receiver — in Dubuque, Iowa.

Since both Taylor and Mobley were Springfield residents at the time and since Lincoln was traveling around on his campaign, it is entirely possible that both sides of the Drake discharge were written in Springfield on the same day. It is just as possible, however, that all four parties to the document could have come to-


For value received
I assign all the benefit of the within discharge to John Taylor and hereby authorise the pay master to pay over to John Taylor, all the wages I may be entitled to receive for my services
attest
M. Mosby
Nathan Drake
A Lincoln Comp

Drake assigned his claim to Springfield merchant John Taylor.

gether at a political meeting such as the one held at Pappsville.

The existence of Drake's discharge certificate was entirely unknown until it was offered to the Historical Library by an eastern dealer. Although Drake is not yet definitely identified and the place where Lincoln executed the paper not positively located, the document is extremely interesting to collectors since it is in Lincoln's hand and since it is only the fifth out of a possible sixty-seven (the number of men in Lincoln's company) to turn up in 127 years. Perhaps others may yet be found.

Sesquicentennial Ceremony in Book Form

The complete record of the Washington, D.C. observance of the sesquicentennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln has been published by the Government Printing Office under the full title *Abraham Lincoln Commemoration Ceremony, Report of the Joint Committee on Arrangements on the Commemoration Ceremony in Observance of the 150th Anniversary of the Birth of Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1959, at a Joint Session of Congress, February 12, 1959.* Officially, it is *House Document No. 211, Eighty-sixth Congress, 1st Session.*

The book is eight by ten and one-half inches in size and is at-

tractively bound in dark maroon cloth with gold lettering. It has sixteen introductory pages and thirty-two pages of text, in addition to thirteen full-page halftone illustrations. An envelope inside the back cover contains a program of the commemoration ceremony.

The contents include the full text of the speech of Carl Sandburg before the joint session of Congress, the "Remarks" by President Dwight D. Eisenhower before the Sesquicentennial Dinner and the dinner address of the Right Rev. Richard S. M. Emrich, Episcopal Bishop of Michigan. There is also an account of the formal opening of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Exhibition in the Great Hall of the Library of Congress which followed immediately after the joint session. Six of the illustrations pertain to these events.

The Congressional Joint Committee on Arrangements which had charge of the principal event in the Washington series was composed of Illinois Senators Paul H. Douglas and Everett M. Dirksen, Kentucky Senator John Sherman Cooper and Indiana Senator Vance Hertke, while the House members were Representatives Peter F. Mack, Jr., of Illinois, Winfield K. Denton and William G. Bray of Indiana and Fred Schwengel of Iowa. Schwengel was chairman of the group.

The "Grocery Keeper" and His Customer

Whether or not Lincoln got the better of Douglas in one of their 1858 debates with a bit of side-line repartee involving the latter's bibbing habits has long been the subject of controversy. In his opening remarks at the first debate at Ottawa on August 21, Douglas stated that he had known his opponent for nearly twenty-five years and that

> There were many points of sympathy between us when we first got acquainted. We were both comparatively boys, and both struggling with poverty in a strange land. I was a school-teacher in the town of Winchester, and he a flourishing grocery-keeper in the town of Salem. . . . I made as good a school-teacher as I could and when a cabinet maker I made a good bedstead and tables, although my old boss said I succeeded better with bureaus and secretaries than anything else; but I believe that Lincoln was always more successful in business than I, for his business enabled him to get into the Legislature. I met him

there, however, and had a sympathy with him, because of the up hill struggle we both had in life. He was then just as good at telling an anecdote as now. He could beat any of the boys wrestling, or running a foot race, in pitching quoits or tossing a copper, could ruin more liquor than all of the boys of the town together, and the dignity and impartiality with which he presided at a horse race or fist fight, excited the admiration and won the praise of everyone that was present and participated.[1]

A commonly accepted story has it that when Lincoln replied to this description of his early career, he recalled that he had kept a store at one counter of which whiskey was sold; while he was officiating on one side of the counter, Lincoln said, Judge Douglas was on the other side and was the best customer he had. "He further had this to say that while he, Lincoln, had long since left his side of the counter he was sorry to say that up to this very hour Judge Douglas had not left his side."[2]

This statement comes from Colonel F. W. Hart of Los Angeles, who, as a young man of eighteen, was present at Ottawa; his entire account appears in *Freeport's Lincoln,* published in 1930. A similar statement was printed at the time of the debates in the *Citizen and News* of Lowell, Massachusetts, for September 6, 1858 — during the interval between the Freeport and Jonesboro debates. The Lowell paper gave the following as a "sample" from "one of the latest discussions" between Lincoln and Douglas:

Douglas: "I knew Mr. Lincoln in early life; he commenced his life as a *grocer!*"

Lincoln: "The only difference between Judge Douglas and myself on the grocery question is, that while I have stood on one side of the counter, he has been equally attentive on the *other.*"

The Lowell paper commented that it was "a lamentable fact that with 20,000 voters present on this occasion this repartee would

1. Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), III: 5-6. A century ago the term "grocery" referred to a place where liquor was sold by the drink. For a discussion of the sale of liquor at the Lincoln and Berry store at New Salem, see Benjamin P. Thomas, *Lincoln's New Salem* (New York, 1954), 90-92. Zarel C. Spears and Robert S. Barton, in *Berry and Lincoln, Frontier Merchants* (New York, 1947), 46-61, treat the subject in a manner more favorable to Lincoln's partner, William F. Berry.

2. W. T. Rawleigh, comp., *Freeport's Lincoln* (Freeport, Ill., 1930), 176.

have more influence than the profoundest statesmanship and the closest logic."[3] The reference to the large audience suggests that Ottawa was the locale of this debate; most of the estimates were that the Ottawa debate crowd totaled about twelve thousand, although another eastern paper, the *Philadelphia Press,* mentioned twenty thousand.[4]

Carl Sandburg, in *The Prairie Years,* recounts the same incident but does not identify it as to time and place: "Lincoln had run a grocery store and sold whiskey, Douglas told a crowd one day. 'But the difference between Judge Douglas and myself is just this,' Lincoln replied, 'that while I was behind the bar he was in front of it.' "[5]

Another version of this incident is in *Abraham Lincoln the Liberator,* by Charles W. French (1891), where it is attributed to the Galesburg debate. French adds a second story of the same sort. According to this story, Douglas said that his father was a cooper and had apprenticed him to a cabinetmaker. Lincoln replied that he had long known that Douglas was in the cabinet business but had not known that his father was a cooper. "But I have no doubt that he was a good one, for he made one of the best whiskey casks I have ever seen," Lincoln added, bowing to Douglas amid roars of laughter from the crowd.[6]

This cooper story is a complete fabrication. Douglas' father was a physician, not a cooper, and died when Stephen was a few weeks old. Young Douglas had apprenticed himself to a cabinetmaker at the age of fifteen.[7] At Ottawa, as we have seen, Douglas referred to his experience as a cabinetmaker but did not mention his father.

Lincoln did not refer to Douglas' drinking habits at any time

3. Edwin Erle Sparks, ed., *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (*Illinois Historical Collections,* III, Springfield, 1908), 543-44.

4. *Ibid.,* 125.

5. Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (New York, 1926), II: 138. Sandburg omits this incident in his one-volume *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1954); see Chap. 11.

6. Charles W. French, *Abraham Lincoln the Liberator* (New York, 1891), 138-39.

7. James W. Sheahan, *The Life of Stephen A. Douglas* (New York, 1860), 2, 4.

during the seven joint meetings. What he did say at Ottawa, in reply to Douglas, was:

> The Judge is wofully at fault about his early friend Lincoln being a "grocery keeper." I don't know as it would be a great sin, if I had been, but he is mistaken. Lincoln never kept a grocery anywhere in the world. It is true that Lincoln did work the latter part of one winter in a small still house, up at the head of a hollow.[8]

Where did Lincoln work as a young man "in a small still house, up at the head of a hollow"? This statement is the only evidence that we have that he was ever so employed. There are numerous days, even weeks, in Lincoln's early life that are not specifically accounted for. He may have worked in a still house in Indiana in the late 1820's, in Macon County, Illinois, early in 1831, or, more likely, in New Salem, while helping the Clary's Grove boys in some such venture. Whiskey-making would have come naturally to many of the Kentucky-born settlers at New Salem. On the other hand, it is not impossible that Lincoln was joking. He may have said what he did in order to keep the subject of his early life, and Douglas', on a whimsical note. If Lincoln had taken Douglas' remarks seriously, he would have been much more likely to have retorted with a cutting reference to Douglas' drinking habits. It is probable that Lincoln's sense of fair play and his friendly personal feeling for Douglas led him to refrain from the obvious retort.

Republican newspapers during the campaign were not so considerate of Douglas. The *Chicago Journal,* referring to the Charleston debate, noted that a Stark County paper had said Douglas frothed at the mouth. Observed the *Journal,* "instead of being crazy, he must have the hydrophobia — dread of water!"[9] The *Quincy Daily Whig,* reporting on Douglas' appearance during the Galesburg debate, noted that he "actually foamed at the mouth, during his speech." The *Whig* then observed that "hydrophobia is not confined to the dog-days."[10] The *Missouri Democrat* of St. Louis, commenting on the Quincy debate, said that Douglas looked much the worse for wear. "Bad whiskey and the wear and tear

8. *Collected Works,* III: 16.
9. Sparks, *Debates,* 553.
10. *Ibid.,* 385.

of conscience have had their effect."[11] This Republican paper of St. Louis reported after the Alton debate that "an Illinois paper says that Douglas whistles to keep his courage up. Does he not wet his whistle for the same purpose?"[12] When the campaign was nearly over, the Republican *Chicago Daily Democrat* observed that "habits of temperance in all things commend themselves nowhere so highly as in the ways of Lincoln and Douglas. Douglas is all worn out, whilst Lincoln is as fresh as the morning."[13]

While Lincoln did not refer in his speeches to Douglas' drinking habits, he is said to have done so on one occasion in a private conversation. While chatting at the Capitol House hotel after the Charleston debate, Lincoln said in the hearing of Dillard C. Donnohue of Greencastle, Indiana, that he flattered himself that thus far his wife had not found it necessary to follow him around from place to place to keep him from getting drunk.[14] This was a reference to the presence of Mrs. Douglas with her husband at many of the meetings of the campaign, including that at Charleston.

Douglas was not a drunkard. His distinguished career in itself is enough to demonstrate that. But he did drink more than was good for him. He was in poor health in 1858, and the strain of the intensive campaign bore more heavily on him than on Lincoln. It is probable that his drinking was one reason for that poor health; it may have contributed to his death from rheumatic fever on June 3, 1861, at the early age of forty-eight.

Douglas was a social drinker, not a solitary drinker. John W. Forney in 1873 recalled that Douglas was "social to a degree, dining out almost daily when not entertaining his friends at his own hospitable home."[15] During the campaign the need for meeting as many voters as possible would naturally have led a man of Douglas' convivial nature from bar to bar — and what are bars for, if not to drink with one's friends?

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11. *Ibid.*, 443.
12. *Ibid.*, 554.
13. *Ibid.*, 529.
14. Jesse W. Weik, *The Real Lincoln* (New York, 1922), 235-36.
15. John W. Forney, *Anecdotes of Public Men* (New York, 1873), I: 21.

PATTERNS FROM THE SOD: LAND USE AND TENURE IN THE GRAND PRAIRIE, 1850-1900

By Margaret Beattie Bogue (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* Vol. XXXIV, *Land Series,* Vol. I. Springfield, Ill., 1959. Pp. 327. Maps, charts, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. $2.50.)

The Middle West is the fat-land section of the nation — the region which since the middle of the nineteenth century has poured out an abundance of foodstuffs. It is the region where mechanization of agriculture proceeded most rapidly, where the industries serving agriculture attained great size, where the first great agricultural colleges developed. Yet it has attracted less attention from historians than the regions of the cotton plantations, the range livestock industry, or even the areas where droughts, grasshoppers and blizzards threaten. Hence the appearance of this volume is cause for rejoicing not only because it is a good study but because it inaugurates a *Land Series* in the *Illinois Historical Collections.*

This study, Mrs. Bogue declares,

> traces significant changes in land use and ownership in eight east central Illinois counties . . . between the frontier period and the 1890's, when a pattern of land use and ownership akin to the modern one took shape, and in so far as possible explains why and how those changes occurred. Secondly, the study investigates the reasons for the gradual growth of farm tenancy and examines the characteristics of tenancy as an economic and social phenomenon in the area. And finally, the study attempts to analyze some of the major conflicts in economic interests among different groups of landowners, which sent them scurrying to their legislators for help.

The author has not tried to deal with every fact of the story and has placed greater emphasis on large landholders (about 10 per cent of the land was held in quantities of 1,000 acres) than small. However, she promises that there will be later studies that deal with small landholders and intimates that the study will also be carried to the present.

The area dealt with comprises roughly the Danville Land District, and the study is presented in two parts. The first part, consisting of four chapters, describes first the ways in which the land was alienated and something of the original ownership pattern, although the author is most interested in the emergence of large holdings. She then sketches local attitudes toward large landholders (most opinions, not surprisingly,

opposed such arrangements). The author discerns two distinct groups among the early large landholders, the cattlemen and those who sought to work their land either with tenants or hired labor, and she devotes a chapter to each. In dealing with the latter group she presents a detailed sketch of the operations of Matthew T. Scott, the records of whose extensive holdings she examined carefully.

The second part of the study, consisting of six chapters, carries the story roughly from the 1850's to 1900. Two chapters trace the general story of the changing land use and ownership patterns to the end of the century. During this period the problem of fencing the prairies was solved, and methods and organization for draining the wet prairies were devised. After 1870 productivity increased enormously. Moreover, both large and small holdings (under 100 acres) decreased after 1870. By the 1880's half the farm units were between 100 and 500 acres and 38 per cent of all farms in the area were operated by tenants. By 1900 the quarter-section farm had attained its greatest numerical prominence. The author suggests that the explanation of the disappearance of many of the large and small holdings and the growth in the number of intermediate farm units is to be found in "the interrelationships of the level of produce prices, the modified corn, oats, and hog economy being established in east central Illinois, the progress in mechanization, and the agricultural credit structure" (page 145). Matters such as levels of managerial skill and the prevailing social attitudes are not mentioned.

Two chapters deal with the nature, condition and increase of farm tenancy and contemporary views toward tenancy. The concluding chapters discuss the farm loan agent and the problems relating to taxation of farm lands.

The chapter on the farm loan agent, based in large part on the extensive papers of Addison Goodell, presents a detailed and sympathetic picture of an active and successful loan agent. In this instance at least, we see a loan agent who worked intelligently for both lender and borrower. The picture is probably much closer to what was typical than that presented in Populist literature.

This study is a useful and welcome addition to the literature of the Middle West. It is based upon careful examination of an enormous amount of record material relating to the area. Moreover, in discussing matters such as tenancy and farm credit, for example, the author appears to be largely free from the assumption that these are always and necessarily bad. In a system of commercial agriculture she sees tenancy as having value even to

the tenant, and she recognizes that when a farmer incurs a debt it may be evidence of vigor and confidence rather than desperation. It is to be hoped that this is really the first of what will become a full and successful series of historical studies devoted to the story of the unfolding pattern of land ownership and land use in Illinois.

On the whole the study is presented in a well-made book, but readers should be spared the kind of annoyance involved in footnotes 8, 9, 10, 28, 44, etc., of Chapter I. When footnotes, placed at the end of the book, call attention to material in the text sometimes on or very near the page in which the superscript appears a rebuke is invited and deserved.

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THE WEST-GOING HEART — A LIFE OF VACHEL LINDSAY
By Eleanor Ruggles. (W. W. Norton & Co., Inc.: New York, 1959. Pp. 448. $5.95.)

(This review is a condensation of one delivered by the Rev. Richard Paul Graebel, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Springfield, at the formal opening of the Vachel Lindsay House on November 10, the eightieth anniversary of the poet's birth.)

In the book under review we are privileged to have the fifth full-length interpretation of Vachel Lindsay, the man, the artist, "the Poet of the Sangamon," the lecturer, teacher, preacher, genius, husband, father, brother and son. But this is the first biography to have the inestimable advantage of being given the verifiable facts in the story of his life: his voluminous papers and diaries, his sketches, his friendships — with his sister and his wife in full cooperation. More than that, the author of this biography, Eleanor Ruggles, is no enthusiastic novice, but a writer of established reputation, recognized as a person of talent and judgment, a skilled craftsman, a discerning woman who spent years in bringing this remarkable book into its finished form.

The result is that we have here, in 450 pages of a handsomely printed volume, the first defensible biography of Vachel Lindsay, the source materials of which are verifiable to any person who is willing to take the pains to look them up.

The divisions of Vachel Lindsay's life are striking. He was the son of a divided family; his doctor-father was Kentucky born, southern in sympathy, and he looked upon Lincoln as the man who had robbed him and his descendants of a way of life (including slaves) that was gracious and leisurely; Vachel's mother was Indiana-born, ardently patriotic,

brilliant and forth-going, Republican, Lincolnian, a northerner and a manager.

Vachel Lindsay was also the son of a divided life-plan: artist *vs.* medical practitioner. Up until he was seventeen years old, he thought his mother was on his side to help him become an artist. Then he found that she had sided with his father who wanted to make him a physician — and he never quite forgave her. Off to Hiram College Vachel was sent to do his premedical work in the formal setting of an academic environment which he enjoyed but into which he did not fit and from which he at last fled to study art. (Incidentally the day was to come when that same college would bestow upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature.)

Vachel Lindsay was divided in his love of his country. On the one hand he could sing her praises and rejoice in her glories, yet on the other, like John Ruskin whom he emulated, he denounced the idea of *Progress,* which exploited her people and her natural resources. This pattern could be continued to show that he was a rollicking, self-confident, enthusiastic performer on the stage, yet in his diary that same night he would confide his terrified soul, his weak dependence upon his wife and his mother, his insecurity before a fickle public — especially in New York which took him to its bosom at one time and turned a cold shoulder to him the next.

From Hiram College Vachel went to Chicago and the Art Institute. He visualized himself as an artist during those years, but he was not a conventional or a skilled artist in the usual sense of the term — and he was still dependent upon his "country-doctor" father. However, the interpretations which Eleanor Ruggles gives to some of his drawings makes them luminous to me for the first time!

After the long, desperate Chicago years Vachel went to New York and there became the lifelong friend of his art teacher, Robert Henri, who told him the truth about his work and gave him courage to be what he could be: a writer. Still he was without a job. He tried peddling poems in the shops and on the streets. He became a teacher and interpreter of art in the YMCA — a young man sharing his enthusiasms, seeking to convert people to the "Gospel of Beauty." Then he went on hiking tours, from New York to Florida, from Springfield to Colorado and California; he became the romantic figure of the American vagabond and troubador, a sensitive soul in the wheat fields of Kansas working with the Mennonite farmer and the German immigrant and the cruel and awful Weaver brothers who killed that "Bronco Who Would Not Be Broken from Dancing." So ended

the silent years before fame came — at thirty-three.

In January, 1913 began the period when Vachel Lindsay was a famous man in America. That was the month when his poem "General William Booth Enters into Heaven" was published in *Poetry* magazine. The poem was read across the English-speaking world and its author was famous overnight. To this day I cannot read the poem, even silently, without tears. The goodness of man and the humanness of Christ stand revealed in a remarkable way, and Springfield's old Courthouse Square becomes the dwelling place of the Most High God who reviews in loving forgiveness the failures and foibles of wretched but aspiring men marching to Zion.

Part Four of the book, which Miss Ruggles calls "General Booth Leads Boldly," is the section which all will delight to read because it tells the success story. "From Lincoln's own country a poet of Lincoln's own breed," said Harriet Monroe, "Mr. Lindsay is the real thing." A great poet needs a great audience. And now he had it. In the greatest universities of America (and Oxford, where he had a tremendous spiritual triumph and financial disaster), to the most elite audiences in the land, he was "a poet in his own country," even conquering his home town before he was through.

The years 1913 to 1923 were the years of the rising tide of Lindsay's fortunes. Then a new era was beginning in America — the era of F. Scott Fitzgerald and John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway and T. S. Eliot. Vachel's books were not selling and he was writing stuff that wasn't worth printing. He hated the lecture platform that bled him white and left him gasping, yet he had to go out and work at it to sell his books at all, and also he actually needed it to build his ego and sustain his sense of importance. But he wore himself out, giving of himself so fully and wastefully in his performances that he had to stop.

A long hospital experience finally made those closest to Vachel realize that he was a sick man, increasingly disturbed by the mental illness that was at last to lead to his tragic death. Now, for the first time, we learn that Vachel Lindsay went to the Mayo Clinic in Rochester in June, 1924. Scar tissue on the brain was part of the diagnosis — epilepsy? This has never been mentioned before, even after his death, but it was part of the findings at Mayos'.

This part of the book, entitled "Sorrow and Love," is both beautiful and tragic, as was Vachel's marriage to that remarkable woman Elizabeth Connor. This marriage took place in May, 1925, and it is a wonder that it

lasted as long as it did and that Elizabeth, blonde beauty who became old before her time, could find resources of strength to sustain her through the fearsome years. As Olive Lindsay Wakefield (Vachel's sister) once said of Elizabeth, "She is a wonderful woman. It takes a great person to live with a genius, and it's no fun."

As I read the love letters Vachel wrote to Elizabeth, I know how much he loved her. As I read the story of their life together, I know how much she loved him. And as I read of the dramatic last days of Vachel (he killed himself in December, 1931), written here with restraint and yet with vivid feeling, I must bow to the heart that first beat and beat its last in the house on South Fifth Street in Springfield.

The West-Going Heart is an aptly chosen title for this definitive biography by Eleanor Ruggles, who was a close friend of Elizabeth Connor Lindsay. It was taken from Vachel Lindsay's diary when he applied the term in love to Johnny Appleseed: "He is the west-going heart, never returning, yet with civilization always near enough to keep his heart tender for mankind. My God is the God of Johnny Appleseed, and some day I shall find him."

Richard Paul Graebel

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS: DEFENDER OF THE UNION
By Gerald M. Capers. (Little, Brown and Company: Boston, 1959. Pp. 239. $3.50.)

Stephen A. Douglas, like Abraham Lincoln, was a favorite son of Illinois at a crucial period of this nation's history. Both men advanced from the western prairies to national prominence as leaders of their political parties. That Illinois should have produced two such eminent men in the 1850's is evidence not only that it was passing through an economic revolution, but also that it, more than any other state, represented all the divisions of opinion on matters of slavery from abolitionism to Negrophobia. Illinois comprised a national, not a local, platform. To carry the state, both Douglas and Lincoln formulated programs that could reach out across the nation. Fundamentally both men spoke as westerners and differed little in their attitudes. Both wanted slavery barred from the territories. But Lincoln, speaking for a sectional party, could term slavery wrong, whereas Douglas, speaking for a national party that included the South, had to assume an attitude of indifference toward the institution. The difference was crucial. Lincoln captured the North and became President; Douglas lost the

North and South and the presidency.

Douglas was a unionist. He agreed with Lincoln that the nation could not part. During the critical year of 1860 he warned the South that "no Illinoisan would ever consent to pay duty on corn shipped down the Mississippi." Douglas was ambitious, and he knew that as a Democrat he could not achieve national leadership unless he could hold both his region and the nation together. He failed in both objectives. In permitting southerners to encumber the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854 with the doctrine of popular sovereignty, he lost the Lakes region. When he tried to hold the Ohio Valley with a pro-northern interpretation of popular sovereignty in the late 1850's, he lost the South. Both Douglas and his program were demolished eventually between the extremes. But before that occurred, Douglas was the focus of unionism in the nation, for, unlike such unionists as Thomas Corwin and John J. Crittenden, he had a continuing program. Because his views represented the only feasible compromise on slavery in the territories, men eventually had the choice of following him or fighting.

Popular sovereignty was the core of Douglas' program to save the nation, and the author handles it with clarity and precision. This doctrine was always subject to two interpretations. Southerners preferred to hold the decision over slavery in any territory in abeyance until the region voted on statehood. This delay would permit the continued movement of slaves throughout the territorial period. Northerners, including Douglas, favored an earlier decision of local or territorial governments which would prohibit not only slavery but also the presence of Negroes in the territories. Douglas regarded this conflict over interpretation as irrelevant, for he was convinced that migration from the free states would prevent slavery at every stage of territorial development. He offered no precise definition of his views in the Kansas-Nebraska debates; he accepted the Cincinnati platform of the Democratic Party in 1856. Even the Dred Scott decision, which denied the right of Congress to control slavery in the territories, did not appear as a challenge to popular sovereignty, and Douglas proceeded to defend it. But changing attitudes in Illinois forced him to take a pro-northern stand in his attack on the Kansas Lecompton Constitution in 1858. At last, in his article in *Harper's Weekly* in the fall of 1859 he announced his final stand, denying the right of Congress, but not of a territorial legislature, to interfere with slavery in the territories. This interpretation defied the South and led to the disruption of the Democratic Party in 1860.

Professor Capers has made a distinct contribution to an understanding of Douglas and the 'fifties. He reveals the Little Giant as a politician of great ambition and political skill, who perhaps claimed more influence in Congress than he actually possessed. But the contribution is not in the form of new information or new interpretation. Rather, it is in the judicious sifting of the old. The author has not searched beyond the obvious sources, but perhaps in a brief biography more is not required. If the volume is political in the narrowest sense, its themes are concise and easily followed. It deals almost exclusively with issues and men. It ignores the great economic and demographic changes that took place in Illinois during the fifteen years of Douglas' political eminence. There is little reference to family or personal life. But it is an enlightening study of a man of ability whose role in American history was unique and whose ambitions never prevented him from paying a high price at times to preserve the integrity of his party and the nation. No spokesman of that age better deserved the title of Defender of the Union.

Norman A. Graebner
University of Illinois

THE OVERLAND DIARY OF JAMES A. PRITCHARD FROM KENTUCKY TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849, WITH A BIOGRAPHY OF CAPTAIN JAMES A. PRITCHARD BY HUGH PRITCHARD WILLIAMSON: WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND A CHART OF TRAVEL BY ALL KNOWN DIARISTS WEST ACROSS SOUTH PASS IN 1849 AND ILLUSTRATED WITH A PORTRAIT, AND TWO UNPUBLISHED MAPS OF 1849 DRAWN BY J. GOLDSBOROUGH BRUFF

Edited by Dale L. Morgan. (The Old West Publishing Co.: Denver, Colo., 1959. Pp. 221. $15.)

Dale L. Morgan not only has done an excellent job of editing the diary of James A. Pritchard but has produced a superb reference work about the 1849 emigration to California.

In the introduction the editor says: "A major purpose of the present book, while endeavoring to organize our knowledge about one sector of a single aspect of the California Gold Rush, the overland emigration across South Pass in 1849, is to point out that on the contrary much painstaking investigation will have to be undertaken, and many fortunate finds made, before we can feel that at any point we are approaching the limits of the subject."

Then he goes on to say: "Ere long we shall also expect to have a study of the Gold Rush as an aggregate of human experience, distilled from the absolute contemporary record. Why and under what conditions men journeyed to California in 1849, and with what outfits; how they reacted to one another and the characteristic experiences of the trail; what those experiences were; where the trails went, and why; why one trail was used instead of another, or why at one time and not at another; why some parties held together when others were torn asunder; what social values are observable; why some values stood up when others did not; the nature of home ties and how men were affected by them; and the whole range of experience after reaching the gold fields — these are just a few of the many questions posed by the emerging diaries of the Forty-niners."

Again, Editor Morgan summarizes the significance of the book in a more succinct fashion than could this reviewer: "The primary contribution of the present book is that for the first time it brings the actual overland diaries of 1849 (excluding, however, those kept on southern routes) under scholarly discipline. With a chronologically arranged chart and an alphabetically arranged list of diaries, each complementing the other, every known diary kept on the northern route to California during the first year of the Gold Rush has been reported, showing the State and community from which the diarist came, the name of his company (if it had one, or if known), the date on which he passed more than fifty landmarks along the trail, the effective terminal date of his diary as a record of an overland journey, and, at least indicatively, how long this diary was kept afterwards. . . . The better to bring out the relationships of the various diarists to all others on the trail, each has been entered on the chart approximately in accordance with the date he arrived at Fort Laramie, where the various trails from the Missouri River came finally together."

There are "132 diaries or equivalent, including eight collections of letters" in the bibliography and on the chart. It is interesting that at least twenty-five of the surviving diaries of the Forty-niners were produced by Illinoisans, from these communities: Knoxville, Springfield, Jersey County, Naples, Ottawa, Rushville, Plainfield, Belleville, Nauvoo, Groveland, Grafton, Aurora, Woodburn, Como, Virginia, Alton, Jerseyville, Jacksonville, Downers Grove and Joliet. The originals of several of the journals are in the Illinois State Historical Library.

Morgan and the publisher,

Fred A. Rosenstock, are to be complimented for producing such an impressive and informative addition to the literature of American history.

C.C.W.

NANCY HANKS OF "UNDISTINGUISHED FAMILIES — SECOND FAMILIES"

By Adin Baber. (Mimeographed. Copyright by Adin Baber, 1959. Pp. 367.)

The Hanks family story has been put together with a wealth of detail by Adin Baber of Kansas, Illinois. His paternal grandmother was a Hanks. Baber has engaged in a genealogical form of "placer mining" which has yielded much "pay dirt" and even a few nuggets.

This compilation is the worthy fruit of many years of patient digging and collecting. Correspondence with scores of Hankses has brought to light a wealth of family traditions, which the author has recorded and where possible has cross-checked. Family Bible entries, courthouse records in Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky and other states — probate records, will books, deed books, tax lists, census reports, birth and death records, marriage registers — have been patiently and carefully examined. Baber has used manuscript collections such as the Barton Papers at the University of Chicago, the files of the Lincoln National Life Foundation at Fort Wayne, the Herndon-Weik Collection in the Library of Congress and his own "Baber Papers," accumulated over the years. He has made use of the published material bearing on his search, with credit carefully noted to Barton, Warren, McMurtry and others.

Of greatest interest to the "non-Hanks" reader is the unearthing of a fourth set of parents for Nancy Hanks Lincoln. Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock, Louis A. Warren and William E. Barton have each assigned parents to Mrs. Lincoln with persuasive if not altogether convincing evidence. Adin Baber's candidates for the honor appear to have the strongest case: Abraham and Sarah Harper Hanks. Sarah was the daughter of George and Elizabeth Shipley Harper. Thus the Shipley family, excluded from the Hanks family tree by Barton, is restored to the Hanks-Lincoln pedigree.

Baber is not a professional genealogist or historian, and members of the profession might take exception to the fact that many of his footnotes are incomplete or doubtful in form. But the present reviewer noted only two factual errors in the text: Dennis Hanks married Elizabeth Johnston, not Elizabeth Bush (page 17), and the correct spelling of the name

of Lincoln's New Salem friend "Slicky Bill" was William G. Greene, not Green (page 361).

If the author should decide to have this study of the Hanks family appear in print, it is suggested that careful editing would improve the book by eliminating the rather frequent slips in spelling.

The ancestry of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, as determined by Baber, is as follows:

Thomas Hanks (born about 1630 or earlier, died about 1675) Married Elizabeth _____. Possible children: William, George, Robert, Peter.

William Hanks (*ca.* 1650-1704) "The Carpenter." Married Sarah _____. Sons: William, Luke, John.

Luke Hanks (born after 1679, before 1687, died 1757) Married Elizabeth _____. Among their fourteen children were: Abraham, Luke, Joseph, George.

Abraham Hanks (*ca.* 1745 - *ca.* 1790) Married Sarah Harper, daughter of George and Elizabeth Shipley Harper. The sixth of their nine children was: *Nancy.*

Nancy Hanks (February 5, 1784, Campbell County, Va., at the home of James Hanks. Died October 5, 1818, Spencer County, Ind.) Married Thomas Lincoln, June 12, 1806. Their children were: Sarah, Abraham, Thomas.

The brothers of Nancy Hanks Lincoln were: Abraham, Luke, William, George, Fielding, John. Her sisters were: Sarah, Polly.

CHARLES H. COLEMAN
Eastern Illinois University

VINNIE AND THE FLAG-TREE
By Mabel Thompson Rauch. (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc.: New York, 1959. Pp. 149. $2.95.)

Mrs. Rauch has written a moving tale of love and war, commingling truth and fancy. Novelists are commonly accorded greater freedom than historians, which is all very well, as otherwise novels would be very dull indeed. The setting of this story is "Egypt" (southern Illinois to the untutored); the characters, with few exceptions, rarely stray far. Actually this is a story in which very few individuals appear, though the author has done well to relate this minor drama to the larger canvas of the Civil War.

Vinnie Rendleman lived with her parents on a farmstead near North Pass (Makanda, ten miles south of Carbondale). Here she followed the opening events of the Civil War. Vinnie, despite her youth, age sixteen, was a very determined person, and managed to persuade her parents that she should have a tour of duty in

the hospital at Cairo, under the loving eyes of Mrs. John A. Logan. In the Striped Hospital it was her lot to nurse to health Theo Thompson, her future husband, who fought with Colonel Logan. Much is said of measles; Vinnie had experienced all kinds, and measles hit the Cairo hospitals like a plague.

Vinnie returned to North Pass where loyal people were guarding the Illinois Central Railroad from possible gunpowder plots. (An army camp was maintained at the Big Muddy crossing). The book takes its name from the huge tulip tree on which Theo had erected a flagpole, the flag to be used as a signal. The flag-tree episode furnishes the story its moment of greatest suspense, and the author has used Vinnie's long climb to haul down the flag as a means of showing how the Knights of the Golden Circle reared their ugly heads.

Emmy Lou was Vinnie's younger and very pretty sister, but Emmy Lou had to learn some things the hard way. Emmy Lou fell in love with a Rebel, and in this way the story shows how the war divided families.

A fascinating aspect of the book is that so much is said of the techniques of daily living in pioneer North Pass. Life was hard, yet there were compensations. The reader will also be intrigued by the use of numerous pioneer provincialisms, such as "the necessary," "cooning up," "infare." This reviewer wonders if peach brandy was a pioneer staple; of course, it was always used (note Vinnie) for a medicinal purpose (as an antispetic or pain-killer).

The present vogue for Civil War books will doubtless mean that Vinnie's adventures will be widely noted.

William A. Pitkin
Southern Illinois University

LINCOLN'S FAVORITE POETS

By David J. Harkness and R. Gerald McMurtry. (The University of Tennessee Press: Knoxville, 1959. Pp. 101. $3.50.)

This is a book which all Lincoln scholars will want to read and own. It is a study of Lincoln and his favorite poets. Furthermore, it is an attractive book — pleasing in print and format. That Lincoln was an admirer of Burns and Shakespeare is generally known. This fact is treated in great detail, and the authors quote copiously from passages that are known to have appealed to Lincoln and lines that must have influenced him.

Probably not so well known was Lincoln's love for Byron, whose hatred for oppression seems almost contemporary and should make him a hero for today.

Lincoln and Byron stand as kindred

spirits in a great cause. Since Lincoln was only fifteen when Byron died in Greece, these two great champions of freedom and the rights of man were rather far apart in point of time and place, but they were close together in the similarity of their ideas and beliefs. They seem almost our contemporaries, their views speaking clearly to all lovers of freedom and democracy today. (page 52)

Longfellow, Hood, Holmes, Bryant, Whittier, Whitman and Lowell also played their part, and their influence on Lincoln, if less than that of Burns, Shakespeare and Byron, was at least that of bringing solace to a man who, having reached the summit, found that

> He who surpasses or subdues mankind
> Must look down on the hate of those below. (page 43)

The first chapter, "The Railsplitter and the Plowman," is a most interesting comparison of Lincoln and his beloved Burns and presents many parallels that the average reader has probably never thought of before — similarities of background, ideals and even personality. Both were indigenous to their native lands. Lincoln, as Sandburg said, "belonged to the west country as Robert Burns belonged to Scotland" (page 3).

This slender volume is also a delight to read simply as an anthology of poetry. The excerpts quoted are well chosen and appropriate. The book is proof that the Lincoln theme has not been exhausted, and probably never will be. It is a worthwhile contribution to the Lincoln Sesquicentennial. There are no footnotes, but there is an extensive bibliography of books and magazine articles.

One finishes the book with a feeling of amazement that Lincoln, who had so little schooling and who was so busy as a successful lawyer, politician and President, should have found the time to read and be such an admirer of great literature. The miracle of Abraham Lincoln cannot be explained — a man whose name is linked with "Jesus Christ, Aristotle, Galileo [and] Shakespeare" (page 35).

S. A. W.

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

Latest development in the Illinois State Historical Library's search for sources of agricultural history is the designation of the Library as the official depository for the records of the Illinois State Grange. The material thus made available to researchers will include the day books, monthly financial statements, membership rolls, quarterly reports to the national headquarters as well as reports on extension work and the recruiting of new members.

Other acquisitions in the field of agricultural history include the records of a livestock company operated in east central Illinois during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. These materials were presented to the Historical Library by Adin J. Baber of Kansas, Illinois, a descendant of one of the founders of the company, and comprise business correspondence, account books and ledgers.

The life and times of a small-town lawyer, Republican politician and editor, and aspiring clergyman, during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, are revealed in the letters and a notebook written by Orastus Charles Dake, and now among the Historical Library collections. In 1853, shortly after being admitted to the bar, Dake took a three-day tour of the state looking for a place to establish his practice. A series of notes made on this trip contains information on business conditions, politics, farm prices and even the local belles. Dake remained in Edwardsville, however, and later went to Lincoln, apparently at the suggestion of Judge David Davis, to edit the *Herald,* a paper favorable to the presidential candidacy of Abraham Lincoln.

Although he was ambitious and hard working, Dake actually was not strong enough physically to carry out all of his ideas. After securing an appointment as a clerk in the Census Bureau in Washington in 1861, he was forced to resign because of ill health. As he was preparing to return to the Midwest, he wrote of the impending battles in the Washington area and the preparations being made on both sides for an all-out war.

This time Dake went to Nebraska where he realized his ambition and served as a minister and helped to found the University of Nebraska at Lincoln. These successes were cut short by his death from a cerebral attack on October 18, 1875.

B.W.

News and Comment

Newman Elected Historical Society President

Ralph G. Newman, for the past year Senior Vice-President, was elected 1959-1960 President of the Illinois State Historical Society at a special meeting of the board of directors held on October 25 in the Student Union Building of Illinois State Normal University, Normal. The special meeting was necessary because of the lack of a quorum following the election of the five new directors at the membership meeting in Wheaton on October 10 (see page 571). Newman is the owner of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shops of Chicago and New Salem State Park and is the author of several books and numerous articles on the Civil War and Lincoln.

Dr. Glenn H. Seymour, head of the Department of Social Science at Eastern Illinois University and a former director of the Society, was elected Senior Vice-President. Eight other Vice-Presidents were also elected: Ray A. Billington, Evanston; Helmut A. Berens and Fred C. Evers, Elmhurst; Mrs. John S. Gilster, Chester; Mrs. William Henry, Jr., Cambridge; Victor Hicken, Macomb; Herman G. Nelson, Rockford; and Mrs. Willard J. Spurgeon, Sparta. A unanimous ballot was cast for the Vice-Presidents and for the re-election of Clyde C. Walton as Executive Director.

The directors then voted to accept the invitation of the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford to hold the annual meeting of 1960 in that city. (The dates were later set as October 8-9.) They also agreed, at the invitation of the University of Illinois, to hold the 1961 annual meeting in Urbana.

Historical Society Annual Meeting at Wheaton

Wheaton College and the Du Page County Historical Society collaborated on October 9-11 to give members of the Illinois State Historical Society the longest and busiest annual meeting they have yet had.

As a part of the celebration of its centennial year, Wheaton College invited the Society members to be its guests at its centennial dinner, provided rooms for the business meeting and other sessions, and furnished guides and clerical assistance where and when needed. As co-host the Du Page County Society scheduled three bus tours and made other arrangements vital to a long meeting with events scheduled over a wide

area filled with heavy-traffic highways.

Registration on Friday morning was at Wheaton's Centennial Center, a lounge room on the ground floor of Blanchard Hall set aside for the many special activities of the year. This center was a headquarters for the Society through the three days its members were on the campus. Early arrivals were called along with the students to Pierce Memorial Chapel by the chapel bell promptly at 10:30 A.M. Friday. The daily service had been arranged especially for the Historical Society meeting, with Dr. Charles W. Taylor, professor of history and government at Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana, as the speaker. His subject was "The Contribution of the Wesleyan Methodist Church to Wheaton College," and in a fifteen-minute talk he traced the beginnings of the latter institution. Illinois Institute, Wheaton's predecessor, was opened on December 14, 1853 by the Wesleyan Methodists, but it soon ran into financial difficulties and in 1860 was taken over by Jonathan Blanchard and the name changed to Wheaton College.

The chapel service ended at 11 A.M., and during the following hour groups of eight to a dozen Society members toured the campus with the assistance of student guides. They visited several of the newer buildings in the group of nearly forty that serve a student body of nineteen hundred. Among these were the Centennial Gymnasium, the Breyer Chemistry and Geology Building and the Library. The tourists also saw the framework being raised for the new Centennial Chapel and Auditorium.

At luncheon, which was served in a small room at the student dining hall, the group was welcomed to the campus by Dr. V. Raymond Edman, president of Wheaton, and to the area by Helmut A. Berens, past president of the Du Page County Historical Society. President Marvin H. Lyon, Jr., responded on behalf of the State Society. During the meal, music was provided by a girls' string quartet from the College Conservatory of Music.

Two bus tours were scheduled for Friday afternoon since one was going to the Argonne National Laboratory where only fifty visitors could be accommodated at a time. The second tour, with about thirty members, visited the Morton Arboretum at Lisle and the Caroline Martin Mitchell Musuem at Naperville. The Arboretum bus stopped at the administration building for a briefing and then toured the 1,100-acre area where more than 4,800 varieties of woody plants are growing.

At Argonne the visitors were given a humorous but practical background lecture by Earl W.

Phelan of the laboratory staff. He then showed two fifteen-minute films, "Atoms for Peace" and "The Argonne National Laboratory." Following this the visitors got back in their bus for a ride of a mile and a half to another part of the grounds, where they saw the present research reactor, known as the CP-5. Although it was shut down for replacements, the visitors were allowed to circle the gallery above the reactor. Buses from both tours returned to Wheaton in ample time for the college's centennial dinner, which was held in the student dining hall Friday evening.

Following the dinner a hymn concert of four numbers was given by the Wheaton College Chapel Choir — twenty-one male and twenty-four female voices — under the direction of Rolf Espeseth, associate professor of music.

Preceding the address of the evening Dr. Earle E. Cairns, chairman of the Department of History and Political Science, made the presentation of three Wheaton College Centennial Awards for work in the field of history. Those honored were Helmut A. Berens, "for outstanding leadership in creating an interest in Du Page County history"; Clyde S. Kilby, for his biography of Jonathan Blanchard (see review, Autumn, 1959 *Journal,* page 447); and O. Fritiof Ander, professor of history, Augustana College, for his bibliographical publications of "source materials on the history of Scandinavians in Illinois."

Speaker of the evening was Dr. Timothy L. Smith, professor of history at East Texas State College. His talk, "The Religious Impulse to Higher Education in Illinois," was a detailed account of the founding of many of the state's educational institutions which he showed to have been linked also to real estate developments of one kind or another.

On Saturday morning two buses — carring seventy passengers — and a dozen or more cars left the Centennial Center for the day's tour, with Willis Milar, secretary of the Du Page Society, as the guide. The first stop was at the Hinsdale Health Museum, one of four such institutions in the country (others are at Cleveland, Dallas and Philadelphia). At the museum the tour was divided into three groups to prevent crowding in any one of the three main rooms of the exhibit. One group went into the small theater where a $20,000 imported-from-Germany, life-size, transparent plastic woman gave a recorded lecture on the various internal organs of the body — while the particular organ under discussion lighted up. Another third of the audience went to the basement where there were oversize replicas — in plaster, paper, rubber, plastic and glass — illustrating the composition and

operation of the eye, ear, hair, teeth, lungs, heart, nervous system and bones. The third party stayed in the main reception room for an elementary lecture on body cells and the functioning of the nervous system. The three groups were moved from room to room until they had seen all of the exhibit; the complete museum visit required about fifty minutes.

Next stop on the tour was at the Old Graue Mill, which is located near Hinsdale, on the west side of York Road just north of Highway 34 (Ogden Avenue). The three-story brick building measures 28 by 45 feet and has a one-story limestone foundation. The property is a part of the Du Page County Fullersburg Forest Preserve and is leased to the nonprofit Du Page Graue Mill Corporation, which operates it as an old-time milling demonstration and museum. The waters of Salt Creek to the north turn the undershot wooden waterwheel. In the basement is the original wooden-cog machinery, which is in working condition, although an electric motor now turns the 1,500-pound original French buhrstone still used to make corn meal from yellow field corn. The milling operation and a small office occupy the first floor; on the second floor there is a display of early farm implements and other tools and toys, and the third floor is partitioned into a number of rooms with furnishings from the 1845-1885 period. One corner is outfitted as a country store.

The ten-minute bus ride to the Hinsdale Community House, where luncheon was to be served, was the shortest in the Society's two days of touring. Presiding at the luncheon was Hugh G. Dugan, president-elect of the Du Page County Historical Society, and the speaker was Judge Win G. Knoch of the United States District Court. Judge Knoch, who was born in Du Page County, told the stories of some of the early settlers and reminisced about the county as he remembered it from his youth.

A light rain had started during the luncheon and continued for the rest of the afternoon and evening. This delayed the bus loading and slowed the return trip to Wheaton. En route a stop was made in the Elmhurst church yard adjoining the house where Carl Sandburg lived (1919-1930) while he was writing *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* and *Rootabaga Stories*. Detours were also taken through Wilder Park and past the Elmhurst Free Library and through the campus of Elmhurst College.

The delay in the buses' return held up the annual business meeting of the State Historical Society which President Lyon called to order in the Fischer lecture room of Blanchard Hall nearly an hour later than scheduled. Unanimous approval was given

Herman Fischer, Jr., seated left, chairman of the Board of Trustees of Wheaton College, and Dr. Earle E. Cairns, chairman of the College's Historical Project Committee, look over some of the materials in the Blanchard Collection, which was officially opened on October 10. The spectators and Chairman Fischer are descendants of Jonathan Blanchard.

the minutes of the 1958 meeting and the annual report of Executive Director Clyde C. Walton, following which three members of the State Historical Library staff gave brief talks about their work. Mrs. Olive S. Foster, director of the Student Historian program, told of the phenomenal growth of *Illinois History* magazine during the past year and of the distribution of the *Stories from Illinois History*. Howard Rissler, managing editor of the *Journal,* explained some of the procedures and difficulties involved in publication of the quarterly magazine and other books, pamphlets, programs, letters and leaflets issued by the Historical Library and Society. Bernard Wax, field representative for the Historical Library, related some of his experiences in collecting historical materials from various widely scattered parts of the state.

Next on the agenda was the report of the nominating com-

mittee, headed by Past President Philip L. Keister. Its slate of five directors to serve for the three-year term ending in 1962 was unanimously elected. These new directors are George W. Adams, Carbondale; Virginia R. Carroll, Galena; Virginia B. Herbert, Cairo; Philip D. Sang, River Forest; and Donald F. Tingley, Charleston.

The business meeting adjourned so late that few members attended the Blanchard Memorial program in Pierce Chapel. At this session the Blanchard Collection of papers was officially opened, and Dr. Kilby spoke briefly on the educational beliefs of Jonathan Blanchard and Charles Albert Blanchard, who succeeded his father as president of Wheaton.

When this program closed, those attending barely had time to get to the Old Spinning Wheel restaurant in Hinsdale where the Society's annual banquet was scheduled to start at 7 P.M. Preceding the address of the evening, John W. Allen, chairman of the awards committee, presented the State Historical Society's annual "Award of Merit" to Oliver J. Keller, Sr., president of Radio Station WTAX, Springfield. Keller was chairman of the committee which had charge of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Banquet held in Springfield on February 12. The awards committee also recommended that the *Chicago Tribune* and its reportorial staff receive a special commendation for their interest in, and co-operation with, the State Historical Society.

The speaker of the evening, introduced by President Lyon, was Dr. Avery Craven, emeritus professor of American history at the University of Chicago. His subject, "John Brown and the Civil War," was chosen because the month of October was also the centennial of the Harpers Ferry raid. Dr. Craven reviewed the facts of the raid itself — which he called a "tragic fiasco" — and concluded that although John Brown's plans were based on "expectations and assumptions," the old raider was not so much confused as were the people of both the North and the South.

The rain, which had continued into Saturday night, ended by Sunday morning, which was bright and chilly. No meetings were scheduled for the morning, but by 1 P.M. cars had begun to arrive at the spacious parking lot at Cantigny Farm (home of Colonel Robert R. McCormick, late publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*), about two miles west of Wheaton. The visitors strolled through the estate, passing the large circular memorial containing the bodies of the Colonel and his deceased wife, Amy Irwin McCormick, before reaching the house, which is now the Robert R. McCormick Museum. The main section of this thirty-two-

The Cantigny Farm home of Colonel Robert R. McCormick, which is now the Robert R. McCormick Museum with Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Johnston as its supervisors.

room Georgian mansion was built in 1896 by Joseph Medill, founder of the *Tribune* and grandfather of Colonel McCormick. The latter added wings to the west and east in 1932 and 1936, respectively. The visitors were shown through the first-floor rooms, which included the main hall, living room, dining room, the weapons hall, Colonel McCormick's study, Mrs. McCormick's bedroom and the library. The east wing was built especially to house this library, which is a two-story room paneled in butternut wood. On the walls are several paintings of Colonel McCormick and other members of the family.

Also on the grounds, near the space reserved for parking, is the Cantigny War Memorial Museum of the First Division, which is not yet open to the public. The talk by Walter Trohan, chief of the Washington bureau of the *Tribnue,* (see page 477) was originally scheduled to be delivered on the plaza east of this building. When the time for the talk came, the temperature was about forty degrees and a wind was blowing at nearly forty miles an hour, so this final event on the three-day program was moved back to Wheaton College. The greater part of the audience was lost in the shift, however, and, when they were finally assembled in Fischer lecture room of Blanchard Hall, fewer than a hundred were present. Ralph G. Newman, Senior Vice-President of the Historical Society, introduced the speaker, whose subject, "My Life with Colonel Robert R. McCormick," was as fascinating to his audience as it was to him during the twenty-five years he was living it.

Annual Meeting Notes: During the Historical Society banquet Saturday, Mrs. David Roberts, wife of the public relations manager of Wheaton College, lost the diamond from a ring which she prized particularly because it was an heirloom. The Old Spinning

CHICAGO TRIBUNE PHOTO BY RON BAILEY

Walter Trohan addresses the closing session of the State Historical Society meeting at Wheaton College.

Wheel dining room was searched from treadle to spindle without success. When Roberts took off his shoes that night, there was the diamond imbedded in a nail hole of one of the heels.

After his busy three days Helmut A. Berens spent the next three days in a hospital — and recovered with no ill effects.

Gilbey Mehagan, the man who runs the grinder at the Old Graue Mill (he says he is not a miller), had a goodly supply of yellow corn meal sacked up, but the Historical Society visitors bought all he had and some of them had to wait while he ground more. A mimeographed sheet with five corn meal recipes went with each purchase.

Meals at the Historical Society meetings are traditionally good and sometimes exceptional — but it has been a long time since Baked Alaska was served for dessert, as it was at the Old Spinning Wheel.

Drivers for the Leyden Motor Coach Company ran into trouble when the first tour left the Wheaton campus Friday afternoon. With a truck and car parked across the street from the driveway, there was not enough room for them to make the turn into the street — until several of the passengers had pushed the obstructions aside.

Youngest tourist on the Saturday bus trip was four-year-old John Fricke of Prospect Heights, who was accompanied by his brother Cappy, 8, his sister Gret-

chen, 7, his mother, Mrs. Harold J. C. Fricke, and his grandmother, Mrs. Elmer E. Anderson of Chicago.

Those who attended the Society's annual banquet received as souvenirs a copy of the Du Page County Historical Society Portfolio, Number Four. It is a handsome illustrated historical map of the county which is folded to the size of the first three numbers in the series but opens out to 22 by 28 inches. Indian trails, villages, camps and mounds are shown on the map, and a numbered listing identifies one hundred eleven historic sites.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

Prentiss D. Cheney was host to the Alton Area Historical Society at his home in Jerseyville on Sunday, September 13. His house, now remodeled and enlarged, was the second frame building in Jerseyville. He displayed his collections of antique furniture and art works, including objects of porcelain, silver and crystal.

Antique autos owned by the Aurora Historical Society drew record crowds to the Society's museum in August. These cars and other vehicles ranging from Victorian baby carriages to stage coaches are on exhibit in the museum's carriage house, which was opened last year. Favorites of museum vistors are three automobiles restored and put in running order by Vernon Derry: a Model R Ford of 1907, a Sears-Roebuck automobile and a 1916 Maxwell.

The Society conducted a "tag day" on September 19 to raise funds for the museum, which is supported entirely by the Society and by gifts from vistors and the public. President L. Ralph Mead explained that school children visiting the museum and carriage house on conducted tours are admitted without charge although adults pay a small admission fee to the carriage house.

The Old Settlers' Association of Bishop Hill held its annual reunion in the Bishop Hill State Park on September 23.

The semiannual meeting of the Calumet Historical Society was held in the Pullman Library Auditorium, 11001 Indiana Avenue, Chicago, on October 9. The meeting was devoted to the history of the Roseland Tornadoes — famed both as a football team and as a social and philanthropic organization. August Thomas, Racine Thompson and George Doty were in charge of the program.

The Calumet Society is sponsored by the Pullman Branch Library, which is developing its holdings of documents, pictures and other historical memorabilia

of the Roseland, Pullman, Kensington, West Pullman, Gano, Fernwood, South Holland and Riverdale areas.

Marion C. Moore of the Champaign County Historical Society reports that that organization held its first meeting of the fall season on September 27 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. William Redhed near Homer. The Redheds' early American home is picturesquely located in a wooded area overlooking Salt Fork River. During the afternoon the host and hostess showed their collections of antique household and agricultural implements.

A centennial anniversary many people would like to forget — though recognizing its importance in their lives — was marked in October by the Chicago Historical Society. The anniversary was the one hundredth birthday of organized dentistry, which the Society observed with a special exhibit including dental instruments, photographs and manuscripts.

The Lawndale-Crawford Historical Society, Chicago, and members of woman's clubs in the area paid tribute to the second oldest of such clubs in the state at a special meeting on October 7. The honored club was the Millard Avenue Woman's Club, founded in 1878 by Dr. Isabella Scott Hotchkiss as "The Mental and Social Culture Club." Its activities grew to envelop such civic and philanthropic projects as a rural traveling library, a Red Cross unit, sponsorship of a branch library in Lawndale and support for the Sarah Hackett Stevenson Memorial Home and the Park Ridge School.

Dr. Joseph Ewald of Harrison High School was chairman of the commemorative program, which featured talks by Mrs. Thaddeus V. Adesko, Mrs. Albert H. Tosch, Mrs. Otto J. Hausknecht and Mrs. Joseph Sands.

Cigar-store Indians — a common sight in Illinois towns less than fifty years ago — are now so rare that entire communities frequently become involved in attempts to preserve them. That is what has happened in Galena. The museum of the Galena Historical Society has long exhibited one of these painted wooden figures, which was privately owned and merely on loan to the museum. The owner was recently offered so tempting a price for the Indian — $600 — that he decided to sell it but gave the Society first option. For the past two months Galenians have been working to raise funds to meet the purchase price. One of the Society's money-raising projects was an antique auction held on October 10, with Reggie Smith as auctioneer and George Callahan as clerk.

Mount Vernon, too, almost lost its cigar-store Indian last summer when an automobile backed into the figure, which stands in front of the Mt. Vernon Tobacco Company. Sam Zemliak, operator of the store, estimated that repairs would cost between $175 and $200 but reassured the Indian's admirers that it would soon be back at its regular stand.

Frank Jarvis, president of the Geneva Historical Society, called a special meeting of that organization in September to consider means of preserving the Society's collections. It was agreed to transfer the valuable files to the library of the University of Chicago, which will microfilm the documents as funds become available.

The Greene County Historical Society, in imminent danger last spring of disbanding and of being forced to close its museum, is still functioning, though it faces pressing financial difficulties. At a business meeting in Carrollton on September 25, Acting President Donald Evans of White Hall, Mrs. Henry Borlin and Mrs. P. J. Achenbach were named to select a slate of officers for the 1959-1960 year.

Elizabeth Kell, secretary, reports that the Jefferson County Historical Society held a dinner meeting September 22 in the Casey Junior High School cafeteria. Attorney Donald G. Musick addressed the group on the subject of constitutional goverment. The principal theme of his address was the effect of the frontier on the formation of the Constitution. President J. Lester Buford presided at the meeting.

The Jersey County Historical Society re-elected its entire slate of officers at the annual meeting in the Jerseyville Public Library, September 12. They are Paul Fleming, president; Mrs. Louis Heider, vice-president; Miss Celia Sinclair, secretary; Miss Cora Lofton, treasurer. The following directors were named: Joseph R. Fulkerson, Arch D. Nelson, Mrs. John Flautt, Clinton Cope and Joseph E. Knight. R. M. Anderson was appointed historian of the group.

Prentiss G. Cheney talked on his antique guns, which were displayed at the meeting. Mrs. Carrie Watts also spoke on the subject of antique collecting, and Ed Stroud exhibited some of his antiques and some early maps and directories which he has donated to the Society. Other recent gifts displayed at the meeting were a foot warmer, a mercury print picture on a mirror and a toy flatiron, all donated by Mr. and Mrs. R. Christy Beaty; and early county documents and photographs, a boat saw and a carpet stretcher, from the Ed Larbey estate.

Membership in the Land of Goshen Historical Society now totals thirty-nine, program chairman Robert C. Lange reports. Despite its small size, the Edwardsville Society is one of the most active in the state. Programs for its monthly meetings, held from September through May, are devoted to the presentation of research papers on local history, and are prepared by the members themselves.

A special event marked the Society's October activities. This was a tour, open to the public, of historic landmarks in Edwardsville.

Mrs. Edward Abenbrink, Miss Edna Weir, Miss Ella Tunnell, Leonard Schwartz, Miss Jessie Springer, Robert C. Lange and Albert Tuxhorn presented historical résumés and descriptions of the sites and buildings along the route. Also assisting in the day's activities were Mrs. Gladys Bartholomew and Harold Kriege. Guests from Alton, Godfrey, Glen Carbon and Tuscola, as well as Edwardsville residents, joined the tour.

Miss Saidie Murray of Streator, who was elected president of the La Salle County Historical Society on October 18, died on November 5 before naming the committees for the coming year or conducting a meeting of the Society. Elected vice-president at the annual meeting along with Miss Murray was Miss Jane Mills of La Salle.

The Ottawa Appellate Court District, which includes thirty-two north central Illinois counties, was the subject of an address by Circuit Judge Howard C. Ryan, at the meeting, which was held in the Appellate Court Building.

Other newly elected officers are Mrs. Hugh Black, Tonica, treasurer; Mrs. Helen Murdock, Ottawa, recording secretary; Mrs. Harriet Alderson, Streator, corresponding secretary. Five new directors were also elected; they are Mrs. Edward Carus, Peru; Mrs. Walter Chapman, Tonica; Horace Hickok, Troy Grove; Arthur Prichard, Ottawa; and Miss Mills.

Reminiscences of a now-historic powder mill explosion were related to members of the Libertyville-Mundelein Historical Society at their meeting on September 28. C. E. Carroll, a Libertyville resident since 1902, moderated a discussion of the explosion, which took place on March 16, 1911. Although the mill was located in Pleasant Prairie, Wisconsin, about eighteen miles from Waukegan, the force of the blast was felt in a five-state area. Another participant in the program was Paul Ray, onetime Libertyville resident, who helped the rescuers.

Illinois Secretary of State Charles F. Carpentier presented a

copy of the 1860 campaign photograph of Abraham Lincoln to the Logan County Historical Society at special ceremonies, Sunday, September 13. The photograph now hangs in the Postville Courthouse — a replica of the original structure at present Lincoln, Illinois, where Abraham Lincoln attended court.

William A. Komnick, retiring president of the Logan County Society, presided at the program. At a business meeting, held before the formal presentation ceremony, officers for 1959-1960 were elected. They are Gene C. Clear, president; E. H. Lukenbill, James T. Hickey and Komnick, vice-presidents; George A. Volle, treasurer; and Mrs. Gayland Green, secretary.

The Madison County Historical Society held its fall meeting in Bethalto on October 18 at the Zion Lutheran Church, which is celebrating its centennial this year. The Rev. Ervin J. Kolb presented a brief history of the church; the Rev. Elmer Zimmerman discussed the history of Bethalto; and Elmer Helmkamp, the community of Moro. George Archibald presented a plaque, donated by the church, commemorating the Bethalto village hall.

A. Edson Smith, principal of the East Alton-Wood River High School and vice-president of the Madison County Society, presided at the meeting. Also taking part in the program were Mayor Erwin Plegge of Bethalto; W. G. Suessen, supervisor of Fort Russell Township; and Burton C. Bernard, president of the Madison County Society.

The Mercer County Historical Society formally opened its $65,000 Essley-Noble Memorial Museum in Aledo on Sunday, October 18. The Society's open house and program attracted over 300 persons, 115 of whom became charter members of the organization. Attorney Bestor Witter, president of the Rock Island County Historical Society, and Marvin H. Lyon, Jr., past president of the State Society, were principal speakers.

The museum building is a T-shaped structure of steel and brick, 120 by 240 feet in size. In addition to the main hall, 34 by 48 feet, the building includes a large reception lobby and office space. The late Elisha L. Essley of Chicago, donor of the building, intended it both as a family memorial and as a stimulus to the preservation of local history.

Edgar L. Dukes, of Albion, was principal speaker at a dinner meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society on October 23. His subject was "On the Trail with George Rogers Clark." Bernard Wax, field representative of the State Historical Library, also spoke briefly.

An old-fashioned square piano from the Heber C. Kimball home, Nauvoo, is now on display in the museum of the Nauvoo Historical Society. The piano was the gift of Dr. LeRoy Kimball.

The organization of Peoria County historical tours, publication of a new and authoritative county history, and the establishment of a historical museum are among the principal projects being planned by the Peoria County Historical Society as its 1959-1960 program gets underway.

At the Society's October meeting, George W. May spoke on "The Democratic Political Tradition in Peoria County until 1900."

Meetings are held monthly in the Student Center, Bradley University.

A section of the historic Ibendahl home — better known as the "old Kinzey place" — near Tamaroa has recently been turned over to the Perry County Historical Society for use as a museum. Mr. and Mrs. Calvin Ibendahl, the donors, were hosts to the Society at the October meeting, at which plans were discussed for displaying the Society's historical collections. President Charles Matthews was in charge of the business session. Former Judge Judson E. Harris of Du Quoin, the principal speaker, discussed the county's legal history.

Mrs. Willard J. Spurgeon, Sparta, retiring chairman of the Randolph County Historical Society, presided at the annual banquet meeting of that organization at the Lions' Community Building in Sparta on October 21. She will be succeeded by Lily Flynn. Guests at the banquet included three officers of the State Society: Clyde C. Walton, executive director, and Richard S. Hagen and Louis E. Aaron, both members of the board of directors.

During the past year, the Randolph County Society inaugurated several ambitious projects, one of the most successful of which was its historical tour for school children.

Excerpts of a report on that project, prepared by Katie Fiene, a Society member and columnist for the *Sparta News-Plaindealer,* follow:

"The formation of the Randolph County Historical Society only a few years ago, with the promotion of an interest in the wealth of history in the area as one of its purposes, was something like a move to waken a sleeping giant. Randolph County is, according to Historian Elroy Heob, a member of the Society and a teacher of history for thirty-six years, 'the most historic county west of the Allegheny Mountains.'

"So it is. But prior to this time, relatively little had been done to alert people to the fact. Then the giant began to stir.

"A good place to begin to turn non-history-minded people (young and old) into history-minded people (young and old), reasoned the Society, was at home. Educate and encourage county people first. Others would follow. And why not start with the youth?

"There are twenty-four public and parochial schools in the county, with approximately five hundred seventh-grade students. Seventh-graders, who are old enough to understand the value of what they see and hear, and young enough to enjoy adventure, tales of folklore and live history lessons!

"The county superintendent of schools, as well as local superintendents and principals, agreed to co-operate, and the Society mapped out plans for a student tour of historic places with competent historians at each spot to give facts and folklore.

"The first tour was in October, shortly before the annual banquet. Three hundred seventy-five students took part. They left headquarters aboard eight school buses, and within four and one-half hours had stopped at three major historic spots in the county (Fort Chartres, Fort Kaskaskia and the Pierre Menard Home). They listened intently as John W. Allen and Father Theo Sieckmann told colorful stories pertaining to the early history of these places.

"Bruno W. Bierman of the Illinois Department of Public Instruction accompanied the students on parts of the excursion and said that his 'department was happy to see something of this nature being done.'

" 'It is difficult to know how much of what the students heard was retained,' Mrs. Spurgeon said at the conclusion of the tour. 'But if it takes place every year as planned, on-the-spot history teaching should ultimately yield substantial benefits.'

"If the Randolph County Historical Society did accomplish its purpose, 375 future historians already appreciate their heritage a bit more and will be quick to say, 'I'm from Randolph County, where we *really* have history!' "

Mrs. Gerald Shaw presented a talk on the history of the town of Reynolds at the fall meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society, held October 22 in the Reynolds American Legion Building. Earlier in the month Charles Ainsworth arranged a display of historic objects for the Society in connection with a three-day arts exposition at the Hauberg Civic Center.

Frank Truman, president of the Rockton Township Historical Society, was host to Society members at their September meeting.

Ebers Schweizer of Chester, a past president of the Randolph County Historical Society, was

guest speaker at the October 6 meeting of the Saline County Historical Society. Schweizer talked on the history of Randolph County, enlivening his account with amusing folk tales.

Mrs. Pauline Purcell, Mrs. Jen Jones, Mrs. Bess Webber and Mrs. Harris Dodd were hostesses at the meeting. Music was provided by Joey Morehead and Kay Moye of Norris City.

The final summer field meeting of the Saline County Society was held September 1 at the Indian Camp Missionary Baptist Church, about thirteen miles from Harrisburg. After a picnic supper, Del Kelley, Harvey Tanner, Carney Doughty, Harry Tanner and Mrs. Floyd Sims participated in a round table discussion of county history.

In August the Society was entertained by Mrs. B. S. Crebs at her beautiful colonial-style home, located at the foot of Murray Bluff about five and one-half miles southeast of Carrier Mills. Mrs. Crebs traced the history of her property and discussed the life of her ancestors, who were early settlers in the community. One of the most fascinating stories she related dealt with the work of an uncle, George Hancock, who operated a freight line from Shawneetown to Cape Girardeau, Missouri, by the way of Equality and Cairo. He used ox-drawn mud boats, Mrs. Crebs said, which were made of hollowed-out logs mortised together to form a 40-inch wide concave boat that could slide along the mud of the river bank. The trail left by the mud boats can still be seen in places along the Saline River, she said. Mrs. Bertha Durfee and A. A. Moore also took part in the discussion of pioneer life in the community.

The Stark County Historical Society re-elected all of its retiring officers at the annual meeting, held September 21 in the Toulon Library. Charles M. Wilson will again head the Society; other officers are Eugene H. Nichols, vice-president; Miss Annie L. Lowman, secretary; and Miss Rena Baker, treasurer.

Early Freeport businesses and industries were featured in the August exhibits at the Stephenson County Historical Society's museum. One section of the displays consisted of a reconstructed drug store typical of the late 1890's. Robert Moore supplied the equipment and products, which included a pill mold, a soap slicer, bottles of dried herbs and cartons of patent medicines. Also exhibited were photographs and catalogs of Freeport industries, early products of the W. T. Rawleigh Company and Rawleigh's original sales bag, working models of windmills once made in the city, a doughmaker, Arcade cast-iron toys and a 1905 Sears Roebuck coffee maker.

V. R. Olmstead of Prophets-

town was the principal speaker at the October 9 meeting of the Society. For more than two decades Olmstead has spent his summers on the Chippewa Indian reservation near Ashland, Wisconsin, and is an adopted member of the tribe, whose folklore and customs he described. Many school children were among the guests, and the museum arranged a special Indian exhibit for the occasion. Milton Babcock, president, was in charge of the meeting.

The Sterling-Rock Falls Historical Society has recently acquired the historical collections of the old Whiteside County Historical Society. The donors are John W. Davis and his sister Susan, whose father started the collections of the earlier Society. A museum board, consisting of Leroy Thummel, Chris Kilgus, Lloyd Elfline, Dollee Fauth and William U'Ren, chairman, prepared the Davis acquisitions for exhibit. The Society's museum room was opened to members at the regular meeting in Sterling on October 20, with a public opening planned for a later date. Also displayed was the W. C. Holbrook collection of Indian relics.

Charles W. Buyers, a Society member and gun expert, was the principal speaker at the October meeting. He discussed the weapons recently acquired by the Society from the Davis family.

In September the Society held the last of its four summer tours, visiting the Indian mounds near Albany. James Pilgrim of Clinton, Iowa, past president of the Iowa Archeological Society, served as guide for the tour. The mounds are located on the Myron Rosencrans farm — once the site of a large Hopewellian village, Pilgrim said. The speaker also addressed the formal meeting of the Society on September 15.

The Swedish Historical Society, Rockford, outlined plans for its 1959-1960 program in a meeting at the Erlander Home museum, Sunday, October 11. Among scheduled events were the annual Lucia festival, the Christmas market, entertainment of the Scandinavian Airlines' forty-member men's chorus from Stockholm and sponsorship of an exhibit at the centennial of the Augustana Lutheran Church.

Research reports on six historic Vandalia sites provided the program for the first 1959-1960 meeting of the Vandalia Historical Society, held on September 15. The report subjects were the Old State Capitol, discussed by Miss Alenia McCord; the Blackwell Printery, by Mr. and Mrs. Roy Dooley; Vandalia Hotel (also known as the Flack House), by Mr. and Mrs. Ben Perkins; the home of Alexander Pope Field, by Mr. and Mrs. Otis Hoffman; the Aiken Evans log cabin, by Mr.

and Mrs. Dale Tedrick; and the old state burial ground, by Mr. and Mrs. Lynn Price.

Officers elected at the meeting include Josephine Burtschi, president; Stanley Stewart, vice-president; Mrs. B. W. Perkins, secretary; Mrs. Otis Hoffman, treasurer.

The fall tour of the Wayne County Historical Society, held Sunday, September 27, attracted some forty participants, who visited the site of the new 955-acre state park near Johnsonville, the Brush Creek Reunion Grounds and the Zenith-Henson Cemetery.

The White County Historical Society will again be headed by J. Robert Smith of Carmi. Other officers elected for the 1959-1960 year are Henry G. Walker, vice-president; Mrs. Clifton Garner, secretary; David L. Stanley, treasurer; and two new directors, James Robert Endicott and Miss Demaris Adams. The Society has a membership of 117.

Activities of Executive Director Increase

Expanding activity in a variety of historical fields brought a corresponding increase in demands on the time of the Illinois State Historical Society's Executive Director Clyde C. Walton during the last quarter of 1959. These necessitated his traveling from one end of the state to the other and making several trips outside of the state. A brief summary of this out-of-Springfield schedule follows:

October 1-3: Visited Gilcrease Institute at Tulsa, Oklahoma; and the Oklahoma Historical Society Library and Museum, Oklahoma City; addressed the History Club at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater; and spoke informally before the history faculty at the University of Oklahoma, Norman.

October 6: Conferred in Bloomington with President Robert G. Bone of Illinois State Normal University and State Senator David Davis on the proposed transfer of the David Davis Mansion to the state.

October 9-11: Attended annual meeting of Illinois State Historical Society in Wheaton.

October 21: Visited annual meeting of Randolph County Historical Society at Sparta.

October 26-27: Examined the Lincoln collection of the late Herbert Wells Fay in DeKalb at the request of Illinois Attorney General Grenville Beardsley.

November 3: Guest speaker on Bloomington Adult Education Series.

November 4: Guest at dedication ceremonies marking the official opening of the Browning Museum at the Rock Island Arsenal.

November 4-5: Met with local committee in Rockford on plans for the 1960 annual meeting of the State Historical Society.

November 17: Addressed meeting of the Civil War Round Table of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

November 18: Spoke at meeting of Quad Cities Civil War Round Table in Moline.

November 19-21: At annual meeting of Illinois Library Association in Chicago; reported on plans for a statewide newspaper microfilming project and attended meeting of steering committee for National Library Week in Illinois.

December 2: Addressed students of Faulkner School for Girls in Chicago as part of the school's Lincoln Sesquicentennial observation (other speakers were Ralph G. Newman, president of the Historical Society and Newton C. Farr, chairman of the Board of the Historical Library).

December 4: Speaker at meeting of Jacksonville Civil War Round Table.

December 8: Addressed meeting of Saline County Historical Society at Harrisburg.

December 9: Met with Director of Libraries, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, to discuss mutual problems and projects.

December 10: Spoke before Jacksonville Chapter, D.A.R.; and attended organizational meeting of Decatur Civil War Round Table.

December 11: As secretary of the group, attended first meeting of the Civil War Centennial Commission of Illinois (in Springfield).

December 22: Attended DeKalb County Circuit Court session at Sycamore at the request of Attorney General Beardsley.

December 28-30: At annual meeting of American Historical Association in Chicago; conferred with engineers and planners about proposed Historymobile and about statewide newspaper microfilm program.

The Five Publishers on the Front Cover

On the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* is an unusual picture of Joseph Medill, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune,* and four of his grandchildren, all of whom later became publishers of large metropolitan newspapers. They are (seated left) Robert R. McCormick, of the *Tribune,* Medill, and Joseph M. Patterson, late publisher of the *New York Daily News.* Standing are Eleanor M. Patterson, former publisher of the *Washington* (D.C.) *Times-Herald,* and Medill McCormick, who preceded his brother as publisher of the *Tribune.* Joseph Medill enjoyed good health until the time of his death on March 16, 1899 (at the age of seventy-five), and Colonel McCormick was born on July 30, 1880 — all of which indicates that the picture was taken about 1898.

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